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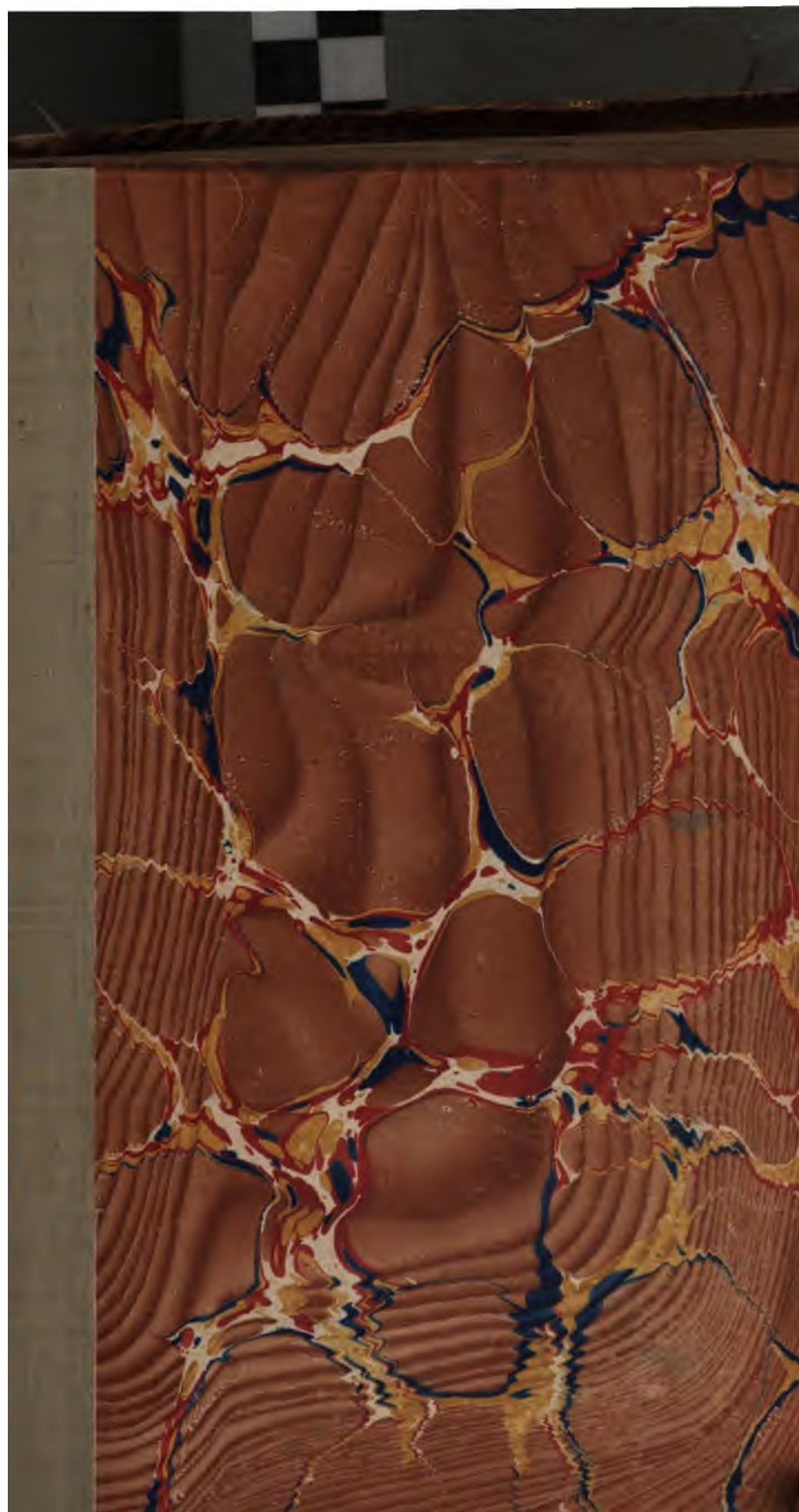
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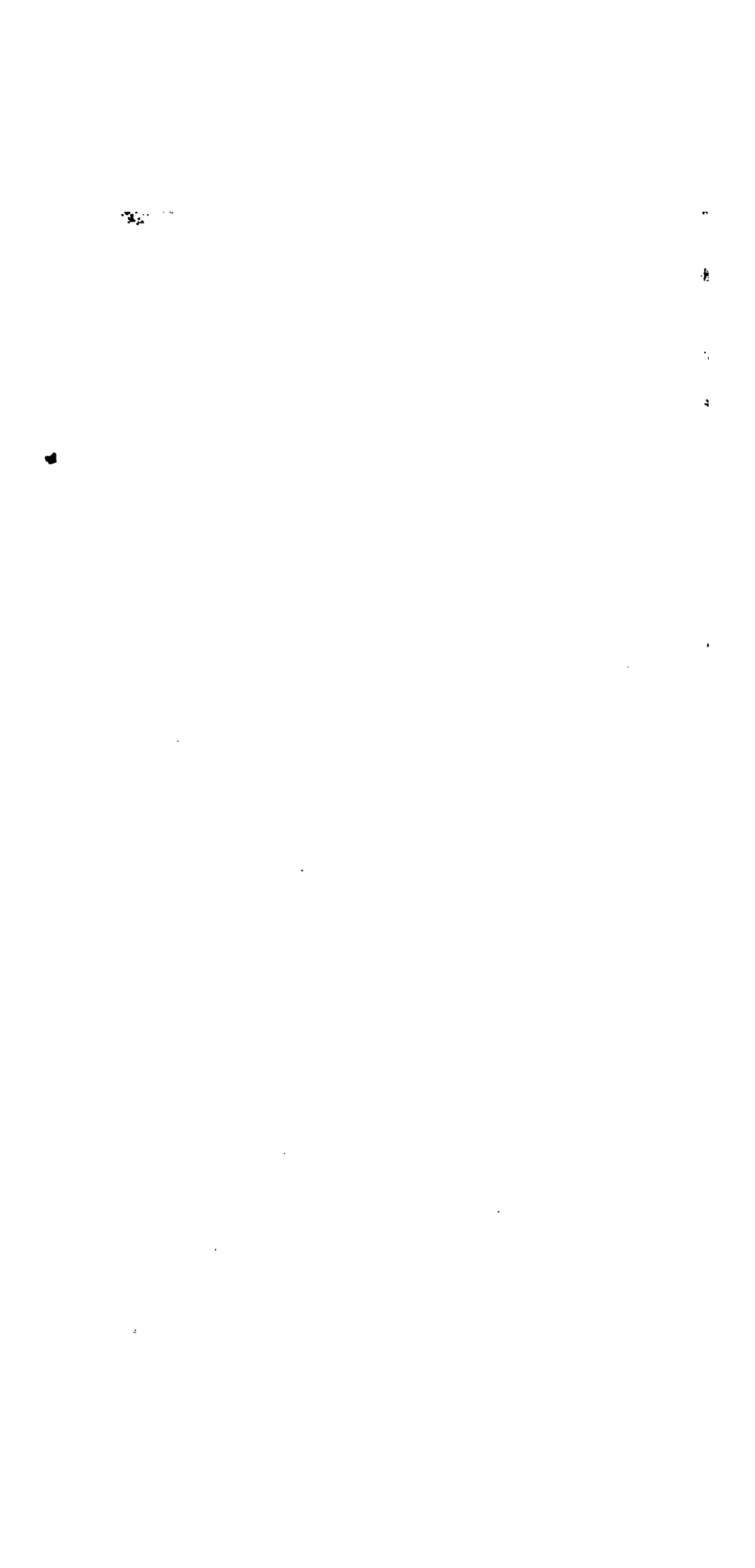






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Eugène

Eugène Delacroix

London. Published by Richard Bentley, 1835.

MEMOIRS
OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

BY M. DE BOURRIENNE,
HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY.

TO WHICH ARE NOW FIRST ADDED,
AN ACCOUNT OF THE IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE HUNDRED
DAYS, OF NAPOLEON'S SURRENDER TO THE ENGLISH, AND
OF HIS RESIDENCE AND DEATH AT ST. HELENA.

WITH
ANECDOTES AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES
FROM ALL THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

"Ah! BOURRIENNE, YOU ALSO WILL BE IMMORTAL!" SAID NAPOLEON.—"HOW,
SIRE?"—"ARE YOU NOT MY SECRETARY?"

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

1806—1807.

New system of war—Winter quarters—The emperor's proclamation—Necessity of marching to meet the Russians—Distress in the Hanse Towns—Order for fifty thousand cloaks—Seizure of Russian corn and timber—Murat's entrance into Warsaw—Re-establishment of Poland—Dyroc's accident—M. de Talleyrand's carriage stopped by the mud—Napoleon's power of rousing the spirit of his troops—His mode of dictating—The Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin—His visits to Hamburg—The Duke of Weimar—His letter and present—Journey of the hereditary Prince of Denmark to Paris—Butler, the English spy—Travelling clerks—Louis Bonaparte and the Berlin decree.

BONAPARTE was not only beyond all comparison the greatest captain of modern times, but he may be said to have wrought a complete change in the art of war. Before his time, the most able generals regulated the fighting season by the almanack. It was customary in Europe to brave the cannon's mouth only from the first five days of spring, to the last five days of autumn; and the months of rain, snow, and frost, were passed in what were called winter quarters. Pichegru, in Holland, had set the example of indifference to temperature. At Austerlitz, too, Bonaparte had braved the severity of winter: this answered his purpose well, and he adopted the same course in 1806. His military genius and activity seemed to increase, and, proud of his troops, he determined to commence a winter campaign in a climate more rigorous than any in which he had yet fought. The men, chained to his destiny, were now required to brave the northern blast, as they had formerly braved the vertical sun of Egypt. Napoleon, who, above all generals, was remarkable for the choice of his fields of battle, did not wish to wait tran-

quilly until the Russian army, which was advancing towards Germany, should come to measure its strength with him in the plains of conquered Prussia; he resolved to march to meet it, and to reach it before it should cross the Vistula: but before he left Berlin to explore, as a conqueror, Poland and the confines of Russia, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated all that had hitherto been achieved by the French army, and at the same time announced his future intentions. It was especially advisable that he should march forward; for, had he waited until the Russians had passed the Vistula, there could, probably, have been no winter campaign, and he would have been obliged either to take up miserable winter quarters between the Vistula and the Oder, or to recross the Oder to combat the enemy in Prussia. His military genius and indefatigable activity served him admirably on this occasion, and the proclamation just alluded to, which was dated from Berlin before his departure from Charlottenburg, proves that he did not act fortuitously, as he frequently did, but that his calculations were well made.*

A rapid and immense impulse given to great masses of men by the will of a single individual, may produce transient lustre, and dazzle the eyes of the multitude; but when, at a distance from the theatre of glory, we see only the melancholy results which have been produced, the genius of conquest can only be regarded as the genius of destruction. What a sad picture was often presented to my eyes! I was continually doomed to hear complaints of the general distress, and to execute orders which augmented the immense sacrifices already made by the city of Hamburg. Thus for example, the emperor desired me to furnish him with fifty thousand cloaks, which I immediately did. I felt the importance of such an order at the approach of winter, and in a climate the rigour of which our troops had not yet encountered. I also received orders to seize at Lubeck (which town, as I have already stated, had been alternately taken and retaken by Blucher and Bernadotte), four hundred thousand lasts of corn, and to send them to Magdeburg. This corn belonged to Russia. Marshal Mortier, too, had seized some timber for building, which also belonged to Russia, and which was estimated at fourteen hundred thousand francs.

Meanwhile our troops continued to advance with such rapidity, that before the end of November Murat arrived at Warsaw, at the head of the advanced guard of the grand army, of which he had the command. The emperor's head-quarters were then at Posen, and he received deputations from all parts soliciting

* Before leaving the capital of Prussia, Bonaparte insulted the remains of Frederic the Great, and stole from his monument his sword and military orders. He also plundered the galleries of Berlin and Potsdam of their best pictures and statues, thus continuing the iniquitous system he had begun in Italy. All these things he sent on to Paris as trophies of victory and glory.—*Editor.*

the re-establishment and independence of the kingdom of Poland. Rapp informed me, that after receiving the deputation from Warsaw, the emperor said to him, "I love the Poles; their enthusiastic character pleases me; I should like to make them independent, but that is a difficult matter. Austria, Russia, and Prussia, have all had a slice of the cake; when the match is once kindled, who knows where the conflagration may stop: my first duty is towards France, which I must not sacrifice to Poland—we must refer this matter to the sovereign of all things—time: he will presently show us what we must do." Had Sulkowsky lived, Napoleon might have recollected what he had said to him in Egypt, and in all probability he would have raised up a power, the dismemberment of which, towards the close of the last century, began to break that sort of political equilibrium which had subsisted in Europe since the peace of Westphalia.

It was at the head-quarters at Posen, that Duroc rejoined the emperor after his mission to the King of Prussia. His carriage overturned on the way, and he had the misfortune to break his collar-bone. All the letters I received were nothing but a succession of complaints on the bad state of the roads. Our troops were absolutely fighting in mud, and it was with extreme difficulty that the artillery and forges of the army could be moved along. M. de Talleyrand had been summoned to head-quarters by the emperor, in the expectation of treating for peace, and I was informed that his carriage stuck in the mud, and he was detained on his journey for twelve hours. A soldier having asked one of the persons in M. de Talleyrand's suite, who the traveller was, was informed that he was the minister for foreign affairs:—"Ah! bah!" said the soldier, "Why does he come with his diplomacy to such a devil of a country as this?"

The emperor entered Warsaw on the 1st of January, 1807. Most of the reports which he had received previous to his entrance, had concurred in describing the dissatisfaction of the troops, who, for some time, had had to contend with bad roads, bad weather, and all sorts of privations. Bonaparte said to the generals, who informed him that the enthusiasm of his troops had been succeeded by dejection and discontent, "Does their spirit fail them when they come in sight of the enemy?"—"No, Sire."—"I knew it; my troops are always the same." Then turning to Rapp, he said, "I must rouse them;" and he dictated the following proclamation:

SOLDIERS,

It is a year this very hour since you were on the field of Austerlitz, where the Russian battalions fled in disorder, or surrendered up their arms to their conquerors. Next day proposals of peace were talked of; but they were deceptive. No sooner had the Russians escaped by, perhaps, blameable generosity, from the disasters of the third coalition, than they contrived a fourth. But the ally on whose tactics

they founded their principal hope was no more. His capital, his fortresses, his magazines, his arsenals, two hundred and eighty flags, and two hundred fieldpieces have fallen into our power. The Oder, the Wartha, the deserts of Poland, and the inclemency of the season, have not for a moment retarded your progress. You have braved all; surmounted all; every obstacle has fled at your approach. The Russians have in vain endeavoured to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagle hovers over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles, on beholding you, fancied they saw the legions of Sobiesky returning from their memorable expedition.

Soldiers, we will not lay down our arms until a general peace has secured the power of our allies, and restored to us our colonies and our freedom of trade. We have gained on the Elbe and the Oder, Pondicherry, our Indian establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Why should the Russians have the right of opposing destiny and thwarting our just designs? They and we are still the soldiers who fought at Austerlitz.*

When Bonaparte dictated his proclamation—and how many have I not written from his dictation—he was for the moment inspired, and he evinced all the excitement which distinguishes the Italian Improvisatori. To follow him, it was necessary to write with inconceivable rapidity. When I have read over to him what he has dictated, I have often known him to smile triumphantly at the effect which he expected any particular phrase would produce. In general his proclamations turned on three distinct points—praising his soldiers for what they had done, pointing out to them what they had yet to do, and abusing his enemies. The proclamation to which I have just now alluded was circulated profusely through Germany, and it is impossible

* Rapp thus describes the entrance of the French into Warsaw, and adds a few amusing anecdotes connected with that event:

"At length we entered the Polish capital. The King of Naples had preceded us, and had driven the Russians from the city. Napoleon was received with enthusiasm. The Poles thought that the moment of their regeneration had arrived, and that their wishes were fulfilled. It would be difficult to describe the joy thus evinced, and the respect with which they treated us. The French troops, however, were not quite so well pleased; they manifested the greatest repugnance to crossing the Vistula. The idea of want and bad weather had inspired them with the greatest aversion to Poland, and they were inexhaustible in their jokes on the country.

"The French troops used to say that the four following words constituted the whole language of the Poles:—*Kleba? niema; woda? sara.* (Some bread? there is none; some water? we will go and fetch it.) This was all that was to be heard in Poland. Napoleon one day passed by a column of infantry in the neighbourhood of Nasielsk, where the troops were suffering the greatest privations, on account of the mud, which prevented the arrival of provisions. 'Papa, Kleba!' exclaimed a soldier. 'Niema,' replied the emperor. The whole column burst into a fit of laughter; they asked for nothing more.

"One evening at the theatre, when the curtain was very late of rising, a spectator, who was among the spectators, became impatient at the delay. 'Begin!' he called out from the further end of the pit, 'begin directly, or I will not cross the Vistula.'"—*Rapp's Memoirs.* (Editor.)

to conceive the effect it produced on the whole army. The corps stationed in the rear burned to pass, by forced marches, the space which still separated them from head-quarters; and those who were nearer the emperor, forgot their fatigues and privations, and were only anxious to encounter the enemy. They frequently could not understand what Napoleon said in these proclamations; but no matter for that: they would have followed him cheerfully barefooted and without provisions. Such was the enthusiasm, or rather the fanaticism, which Napoleon could inspire among his troops, when he thought proper to rouse them, as he termed it.

When, on a former occasion, I spoke of the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, and his family, I forgot a circumstance respecting my intercourse with him, which now occurs to my memory. When, on his expulsion from his states, after the battle of Jena, he took refuge in Altona, he requested, through the medium of his minister at Hamburg, Count Plessen, that I would give him permission occasionally to visit that city. This permission I granted without hesitation; but the duke observed no precaution in his visits, and I made some observations to him on the subject. I knew the object of his visits. It was a secret connexion in Hamburg; but in consequence of my observations, he removed the lady to Altona, and assured me that he adopted that determination to avoid committing me. He afterwards came very seldom to Hamburg; but as we were on the best understanding with Denmark, I frequently saw his daughter and son-in-law, who used to visit me at a house I had in Holstein, near Altona. There I likewise saw, almost every day, the Duke of Weimar, an excellent old man. I had the advantage of being on such terms of intimacy with him, that my house was in some measure his. He also had lost his states. I was so happy as to contribute to their restitution, for my situation enabled me to exercise some influence on the political indulgences or severities of the government. I entertained a sincere regard for the Duke of Weimar, and I greatly regretted his departure. No sooner had he arrived in Berlin, than he wrote me a letter of thanks, to which he added the present of a diamond, in token of his grateful remembrance of me. The Duke of Mecklenburgh was not so fortunate as the Duke of Weimar, in spite of his alliance with the reigning family of Denmark. He was obliged to remain at Altona until the July following; for his states were restored only by the treaty of Tilsit. As soon as it was known that the emperor had returned to Paris, the duke's son, the hereditary prince, visited me in Hamburg, and asked me whether I thought he could present himself to the emperor, for the purpose of expressing his own and his father's gratitude. He was a very well-educated young man. He set out, accompanied by M. Oertzen and Baron Brandstaten.

Some time afterwards I saw his name in the *Moniteur*, in one of the lists of presentations to Napoleon, the collection of which, during the empire, might be regarded as a general register of the nobility of Europe.

It is commonly said that we may accustom ourselves to any thing, but to me this remark is subject to an exception; for in spite of the necessity to which I was reduced of employing spies, I never could surmount the disgust I felt at them, especially when I saw men destined to fill a respectable rank in society degrade themselves to that infamous profession. It is impossible to conceive the artifices to which these men resort to gain the confidence of those whom they wish to betray. Of this the following example just now occurs to my mind:

One of those wretches who are employed in certain circumstances, and by all parties, came to offer his services to me. His name was Butler, and he had been sent from England to the continent as a spy upon the French government. He immediately came to me, complained of pretended enemies and unjust treatment. He told me he had the greatest wish to serve the emperor, and that he would make any sacrifice to prove his fidelity. The real motive of his change of party was, as it is with all such men, merely the hope of a higher reward. Most extraordinary were the schemes he adopted to prevent his old employers from suspecting that he was serving new ones. To me he continually repeated how happy he was to be revenged on his enemies in London. He asked me to allow him to go to Paris to be examined by the minister of police. The better to keep up the deception, he requested, that on his arrival in Paris he might be confined in the Temple, and that there might be inserted in the French journals an announcement in the following terms: "John Butler, commonly called Count Butler, has just been arrested and sent to Paris under a good escort, by the French minister at Hamburg." At the expiration of a few weeks, Butler, having received his instructions, set out for London, but by way of precaution, he said it would be well to publish in the journals another announcement, which was as follows: "John Butler, who has been arrested in Hamburg as an English agent, and conveyed to Paris, is ordered to quit France, and the territories occupied by the French armies and their allies, and not to appear there again until the general peace." In England Butler enjoyed the honours of French persecution. He was regarded as a victim who deserved all the confidence of the enemies of France. He furnished Fouché with a considerable deal of information, and he was fortunate enough to escape being hanged. Who indeed would not have been duped by such an imposition? Truly there are some crimes which only those who are guilty of them can suspect!

Notwithstanding the pretended necessity of employing secret

agents, Bonaparte was unwilling that, even under that pretext, too many communications should be established between France and England. Meanwhile Fouché actively directed the evolutions of his secret army. Ever ready to seize on any thing that could give importance to the police, and encourage the suspicions of the emperor, Fouché wrote to me, that the government had received certain information, *that many Frenchmen, travelling for commercial houses in France, were at Manchester purchasing articles of English manufacture. This was true; but how was it to be prevented.* These travelling clerks passed through Holland, where they easily procured a passage to England.

Louis Bonaparte, conceiving that the King of Holland ought not to sacrifice the interests of his new subjects to the wishes of his brother, was at first very lenient as to the disastrous continental system. But at this Napoleon soon manifested his displeasure, and about the end of the year 1806, Louis was reduced to the necessity of ordering the strict observance of the blockade. The facility with which the travellers of French commercial houses passed from Holland to England gave rise to other alarms on the part of the French government. It was said, that since Frenchmen could so easily pass from the continent to Great Britain, the agents of the English cabinet might, by the same means, find their way to the continent. Accordingly, the consuls were directed to keep a watchful eye, not only upon individuals who evidently came from England, but upon those who might by any possibility come from that country. This plan was all very well, but how was it to be put into execution? . . . The continent was, nevertheless, inundated with articles of English manufacture, for this simple reason, that, however powerful may be the will of a sovereign, it is still less powerful, and less lasting, than the wants of a people. The continental system reminded me of the law created by an ancient legislator, who, for a crime which he conceived could not possibly be committed, condemned the person who should be guilty of it to throw a bull across Mount Taurus.

should be respecting Poland. It was suggested to establish that ancient and hereditary kingdom, but the court in no way pressing, according to reports he sent to Paris, that he might appear as commander-in-chief. At Warsaw, indeed, the emperor passed a great part of his time in this and various other places, which, however, did not prevent him from watching with eagle eye every department of the public service, both interior and exterior. He took the most active part in the council of state, and his vast influence was everywhere felt. I heard from Paris, when we were conversing, that the emperor's presence in Poland had produced a salutary and intelligent war, and that the emperor's presence in Poland had produced a salutary and intelligent war.

CHAPTER II.

1807.

Creation of the kingdom of Saxony—Veneration of Germany for the King of Saxony—The emperor's uncertainty respecting Poland—Fêtes and reviews at Warsaw—The French government at the emperor's head-quarters—Ministerial portfolios sent to Warsaw—Military preparations during the month of January—Difference of our situation during the campaigns of Vienna and Prussia—News received and sent—Conduct of the cabinet of Austria similar to that of the cabinet of Berlin—Battle of Eylau—Unjust accusation against Bernadotte—Death of General d'Hautpoul—Te Deum chanted by the Russians—Gardanne's mission to Persia—Abuse of military power—Defence of diplomatic rights—Marshal Brune.

It is not my present design to trace a picture of the state of Europe at the close of 1806. I will merely throw together a few facts which came to my knowledge at the time, and which I find in my correspondence. I have already mentioned that the emperor arrived at Warsaw on the 1st of January. During his stay at Posen, he had, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Elector of Saxony, founded a new kingdom, and consequently extended his power in Germany, by the annexment of the kingdom of Saxony to the confederation of the Rhine. By the terms of this treaty, Saxony, so justly famed for her cavalry, was to furnish the emperor with a contingent of twenty thousand men and horses.

It was quite a new spectacle to the princes of Germany, all accustomed to old habits of etiquette, to see an upstart sovereign treat them as subjects, and even oblige them to consider themselves as such. Those famous Saxons, who had made Charlemagne tremble, threw themselves on the protection of the emperor; and the alliance of the head of the house of Saxony was not a matter of indifference to Napoleon; for the new king was, on account of his age, his tastes, and his character, more revered than any other German prince.

From the moment of Napoleon's arrival at Warsaw, until the commencement of hostilities against the Russians, he was continually solicited to re-establish the throne of Poland, and to restore its chivalrous independence to the ancient empire of the Jagellons. A person who was at that time in Warsaw told me, that the emperor was in the greatest uncertainty as to what he

should do respecting Poland. He was entreated to re-establish that ancient and heroic kingdom; but he came to no decision, preferring, according to custom, to submit to events that he might appear to command them. At Warsaw, indeed, the emperor passed a great part of his time in fêtes and reviews, which, however, did not prevent him from watching, with his eagle eye, every department of the public service, both interior and exterior.* He himself was in the capital of Poland; but his vast influence was present every where. I heard Duroc say, when we were conversing together about the campaign of Tilsit, that Napoleon's activity and intelligence were never more conspicuously developed.

One very remarkable feature of the imperial wars was, that with the exception of the interior police, of which Fouché was the soul, the whole government of France was at the head-quarters of the emperor. At Warsaw, Napoleon's attention was not only occupied with the affairs of his army, but he directed the whole machinery of the French government just the same as if he had been in Paris. Daily estafettes, and frequently the useless auditors of the council of state, brought him reports more or less correct, and curious disclosures, which were frequently the invention of the police. The portfolios of the ministers arrived every week, with the exception of those of the minister for foreign affairs, and the minister of the war department; the former had first stopped at Mentz with the empress, but had been called on to Warsaw; and the latter, Clarke, was, for the misfortune of Berlin, governor of that city. This state of things lasted during the ten months of the emperor's absence from Paris. Louis XIV. said, "I am myself the State." Napoleon did not say this; but, in fact, under his reign the government of France was always at his head-quarters. This

* "Our halt at Warsaw was delightful. With the exception of theatres, the city presented all the gaieties of Paris. Twice a week the emperor gave a concert; after which a court was held, which led again to numerous meetings in private parties. On these occasions, the personal beauty and graceful manners of the Polish ladies were conspicuous. It may truly be said that they excited the jealousy of the most charming women of other nations. With the most polished elegance they combine a fund of information, which is not usually found even among Frenchwomen; and they are very superior to the generality of females bred in cities, to whom habit renders company almost a necessary of life. The Polish ladies of rank always pass one half of the year in the country, where probably they apply themselves to reading and the cultivation of their minds; and they return to spend the winter-season in the capital, graced with those talents and accomplishments which render them so peculiarly attractive.

"The emperor and all the French officers paid their tribute of admiration to the charms of the fair Poles. There was one whose powerful fascinations made a deep impression on the emperor's heart. He conceived an ardent affection for her, which she cordially returned. She received with pride the homage of a conquest which was the consummation of her happiness. It is needless to name her, when I observe that her attachment remained unshaken amidst every danger, and that, at the period of Napoleon's reverses, she continued his faithful friend."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (Editor.)

circumstance had wellnigh proved fatal to him, on the occasion of the extraordinary conspiracy of Mallet, with some points of which I alone, perhaps, am thoroughly acquainted. The emperor employed the month of January in military preparations for the approaching attack of the Russians, but at the same time he did not neglect the business of the cabinet: with him nothing was suffered to linger in the rear.

While Napoleon was at Warsaw, a battle was not the only thing to be thought about; affairs were much more complicated than during the campaign of Vienna. It was necessary, on the one hand, to observe Prussia, which was occupied; and on the other, to anticipate the Russians, whose movements indicated that they were inclined to strike the first blow. In the preceding campaign, Austria, before the taking of Vienna, was engaged alone. The case was different now: Austria had had only soldiers; and Prussia, as Blucher declared to me, was beginning to have citizens. There was no difficulty in returning from Vienna, but a great deal in returning from Warsaw, in case of failure, notwithstanding the creation of the kingdom of Saxony, and the provisional government given to Prussia, and to the other states of Germany which we had conquered. None of these considerations escaped the penetration of Napoleon: nothing was omitted in the notes, letters, and official correspondence which came to me from all quarters. Receiving, as I did, accurate information from my own correspondents of all that was passing in Germany, it often happened that I transmitted to the government the same news which it transmitted to me, not supposing that I previously knew it. Thus, for example, I thought I was apprizing the government of the arming of Austria, of which I received information from headquarters a few days after.

During the Prussian campaign, Austria played precisely the game which Prussia had played during the campaign of Austria. There was indecision on the one part, and indecision on the other. As Prussia had, before the battle of Austerlitz, awaited the success or defeat of the French, to decide whether she should remain neutral, or declare herself against France; so Austria, doubtless supposing that Russia would be more fortunate as the ally of Prussia, than she had been as *her* ally, assembled a corps of forty thousand men in Bohemia. That corps was called an army of observation; but the nature of these armies of observation is well known; they belong to the class of armed neutralities, like the ingenious invention of sanitary cordons. The fact is, that the forty thousand men assembled in Bohemia were destined to aid and assist the Russians in case they should be successful: and what reasonable man can blame the Austrian government for wishing for a vengeance which should wash away the shame of the treaty of Presburg. Napoleon had not a moment to lose, but his activity required no

spur: he had hastened the battle of Austerlitz to anticipate Prussia, and he now found it necessary to anticipate Russia, in order to keep Austria in a state of indecision.

The emperor, therefore, left Warsaw about the end of January, and immediately gave orders for engaging the Russian army in the beginning of February; but, in spite of his desire of commencing the attack, he was anticipated. On the 8th of February, at seven in the morning, he was attacked by the Russians, who advanced during a terrible storm of snow, which fell in large flakes. They approached Preussich-Eylau, where the emperor was, and the imperial guard stopped the Russian column. Nearly the whole French army was engaged in that battle, one of the most sanguinary ever fought in Europe. The corps commanded by Bernadotte was not engaged in the contest: it had been stationed on the left at Mohrungen, whence it menaced Dantzic. The issue of the battle would have been very different, had the four divisions of infantry, and the two of cavalry, composing Bernadotte's corps, arrived in time; but, unfortunately, the officer instructed to convey orders to Bernadotte to march without delay on Preussich-Eylau, was taken by a body of Cossacks: Bernadotte, therefore, did not arrive. Bonaparte, who always liked to throw blame on some one if things did not turn out exactly as he wished, attributed the doubtful success of the day to the absence of Bernadotte: in this he was right; but to make that absence a reproach to the marshal was a gross injustice. Bernadotte was accused of not having been willing to march on Preussich-Eylau, though, as it was alleged, General d'Hautpoult had informed him of the necessity of his presence. But how can that fact be ascertained, since General d'Hautpoult was killed on that same day? Who can assure us that that general was able to communicate directly and personally with Marshal Bernadotte?

Those who knew Bonaparte, his cunning, and the artful advantage he would sometimes take of words, which he attributed to the dead, will easily solve the enigma. The battle of Eylau was terrible:—night came on—Bernadotte's corps was constantly, but in vain, expected; and, after a great loss, the French army had the melancholy honour of passing the night on the field of battle. Bernadotte at length arrived, but too late. He met the enemy, who were retreating, without the fear of being molested, towards Koningsberg, the only capital remaining to Prussia. The King of Prussia was then at Memel, a small port on the Baltic, thirty leagues from Koningsberg.

After the battle of Eylau, both sides remained stationary; and several days elapsed without any thing remarkable taking place. The offers of peace made by the emperor, with very little earnestness it is true, were disdainfully rejected, as if a victory disputed with Napoleon was to be regarded as a triumph. The battle of Eylau seemed to turn the heads of the Russians, who

chanted "Te Deum" on the occasion. But while the emperor was making preparations to advance, his diplomacy was taking effect in a distant quarter, and raising up against Russia an old and formidable enemy. Turkey declared war against her. This was a powerful diversion, and obliged Russia to strip her western frontiers to secure a line of defence on the south.*

Some time after General Gardanne set out on the famous embassy to Persia; for which the way had been paved by the success of the mission of my friend, Amédée Jaubert. This embassy was not merely one of those pompous legations, such as Charlemagne, Louis XIV., and Louis XVI., received from the Empress Irene, the King of Siam, and Tippoo Saib. It was connected with ideas which Bonaparte had conceived at the very dawn of his power. It was, indeed, the light from the East which first enabled him to see his greatness in perspective; and that light never ceased to fix his attention, and dazzle his imagination. I know well that Gardanne's embassy was, at first, conceived on a much grander scale than that on which it was executed. Napoleon had resolved to send to the Shah of Persia four thousand infantry, commanded by chosen and experienced officers; ten thousand muskets, and fifty pieces of cannon; and I also know that orders were given for the execution of this design. The avowed object of the emperor was to enable the Shah of Persia to make an important diversion, with eighty thousand men, in the eastern provinces of Russia. But there was likewise another, an old and constant object, which was always uppermost in Napoleon's mind, namely the wish to strike England in the very heart of her Asiatic possessions. Such was the principal motive of Gardanne's mission, but circumstances

* On this occasion the diplomacy of England was notoriously and shamefully at fault. A clever and determined ambassador at Constantinople might have kept the Turks quiet, but Mr. Arbuthnot, the resident minister, was not the man, and he was sick with a slow fever at the moment of crisis. The year before, when the Turks were on the point of going to war with Russia about Wallachia and Moldavia, they were bullied into peace by a young English diplomatist, who has since then made himself notorious in very different ways. This was the Honourable William Long Wellesley Pole, who was then second secretary to our embassy. Knowing that the Divan were coming to a decision, he left the ambassador's house at Buyukderré, mounted his horse, and galloped to Constantinople, through a torrent of rain. He never stopped till he reached the Porte, where he leaped out of his saddle and presented himself to the divan of ministers, with his whip in his hand, and covered all over with mud. He

"Looked not lovingly on that divan."

He stormed the Turks to their beards—he threatened them with annihilation, and drawing on his imagination for his facts, he swore to them that a tremendous English fleet which had already set out from Gibraltar, would force the passage of the Dardanelles, and be before Constantinople in a few days, to dictate the law to the sultan. The Turks, terrified out of their senses instantly came to terms for the nonce.—See *Juchereau de Saint Denis' Révolution de Constantinople*. (Editor.)

did not permit the emperor to give it all the importance he desired. He contented himself with sending a few officers of engineers and artillery to Persia, who, on their arrival, were astonished at the number of English they found there.

Meanwhile the internal affairs of the towns over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended soon gave me more employment than ever. The greatest misfortune of the empire was, perhaps, the abuse of the right arrogated by the wearers of epaulettes. My situation gave me an opportunity of observing all the odious character of a military government. Another, in my place, could not have done all that I did. I say this confidently; for my situation was a distinct and independent one, as Bonaparte had told me. Being authorized to correspond directly with the emperor, the military chiefs feared, if they did not yield to my just representations, that I would make private reports: this apprehension was wonderfully useful in enabling me to maintain the rights of the towns, which had adopted me as their first citizen.

A circumstance occurred in which I had to defend the rights of the diplomatic and commercial agents against the pretensions of military power. Marshal Brune, during his government at Hamburg, went to Bremen, to watch the strict execution of the illusive blockade against England. The marshal, acting, no doubt, in conformity with the instructions of Clarke, then minister of war, and governor of Berlin, wished to arrogate the right of deciding on the captures made by our cruisers.

He attempted to prevent the consul Lagau from selling the confiscated ships, in order to sell them himself. Of this M. Lagau complained to me. The more I observed a disposition to encroach on the part of the military authorities, the more I conceived it necessary to maintain the rights of the consuls, and to favour their influence, without which they would have lost their consideration. To the complaints of M. Lagau, I replied "That to him alone belonged the right of deciding in the first instance, on the fate of the ships: that he could not be deprived of that right without changing the law: that he was free to sell the confiscated Prussian ships: that Marshal Brune was at Bremen only for the execution of the decree respecting the blockade of England, and that he ought not to interfere in business unconnected with that decree." Lagau showed this letter to Brune, who then allowed him to do as he wished; but it was an affair of profit, and the marshal, for a long time, owed me a grudge.

Bernadotte was exceedingly disinterested; but he loved to be talked about. The more the emperor endeavoured to throw accusations upon him, the more he was anxious to give publicity to all his actions. He sent to me an account of the brilliant affair of Braunsburg, in which a division of the first corps had been particularly distinguished. Along with this narrative, he

sent me a note in the following terms: "I send you, my dear minister, an account of the affair of Braunsburg. You will, perhaps, think proper to publish it. In that case, I shall be obliged by your getting it inserted in the Hamburg journals." I did so. The injustice of the emperor, and the bad way in which he spoke of Bernadotte, obliged the latter for the sake of his own credit, to make the truth known to the world.

CHAPTER III.

1807.

Army supplies—English cloth and leather—M. de Gimel's successor—Double appointment at London and Mittau—M. Hue, valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI.—Arrest on a charge of libel—M. Hue's arrival at Altona—Fresh arrivals of emigrants—Baron d'Imbert and General Danican—Colonel de Blacas in the Swedish service—Command accepted by Dumouriez—Despatch from M. de Talleyrand—A page of Napoleon's glory—Interview between the two emperors at Tilsit—Silesia restored to the Queen of Prussia—The Prince of Wittgenstein—Commercial treaty between England and Russia—Mediation of Russia offered to England—Reply of Mr. Canning—The Prince of Wales and Mr. Canning favourable to peace—Unfortunate situation of Prussia—Impossibility of re-establishing Poland in 1807—Foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia—The grand duchy of Warsaw and the King of Saxony.

I HAVE mentioned that I received an order from the emperor to supply fifty thousand cloaks for the army. With this order, which was not the only one I received of the same kind, some circumstances were connected, which I may take the present opportunity of explaining.

The emperor gave me so many orders for army clothing, that all that could be supplied by the cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, would have been insufficient for executing the commissions. I entered into a treaty with a house in Hamburg, which I authorized, in spite of the Berlin decree, *to bring cloth and leather from England*. Thus I procured these articles in a sure and cheap way. Our troops might have perished of cold, had the continental system, and the absurd mass of inexecutable decrees relative to English merchandise, been observed.

At the beginning of 1807, my occupations at Hamburg were divided between the furnishing of supplies for the army, and the inspection of the emigrants whom Fouché pretended to dread, in order to give greater importance to his office. M. de Gimel was now dead. I had informed Fouché of that event, and he desired me to send him all the information I could col-

lect respecting the individual who might be appointed M. de Gimel's successor. M. de la Chapelle made choice of M. Maillard, and as soon as I ascertained this fact, I sent to Fouché a description of M. Maillard, whose portrait could not possibly have been flattered without depriving it of all resemblance. I had learned, by a letter from Count Dumoustier, who was then in England, that Maillard had been commander of the gendarmerie at Valenciennes, and prévôt of the army of Condé. Count Dumoustier had described him as a brutal, obstinate, and exceedingly narrow-minded man, and he finished his portrait with the following remark: "The king's cause must be desperate indeed, when such fellows are chosen to support it." M. Maillard was sent from London to Altona to succeed M. de Gimel as agent of the emigrants; but at the same time Louis XVIII. had given the appointment to M. Grémion, an inhabitant of Holstein. However, both these nominations were merely provisional, and I ascertained that M. Hue was definitively appointed to succeed M. de Gimel as agent for the emigrants. M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May. He was that faithful servant of Louis XVI. who shared his master's captivity, and to whom honourable immortality is bequeathed in the will of the unfortunate sovereign. His name must have recalled strange recollections to Fouché, who wished that I should be doubly vigilant. His distrust, real or feigned, of the emigrants, was such, that he more than once directed me to keep watch upon persons who were very far from supposing themselves to be objects of the slightest suspicion.

I never let slip an opportunity of mitigating the rigour of Fouché's orders, which, indeed, were sometimes so absurd, that I did not attempt to execute them. Of this the following instance just now occurs to my recollection: A printer at Hamburg had been arrested on the charge of having printed a libel in the German language. The man was detained in prison because, very much to his honour, he would not disclose the name of the writer of the pamphlet. I sent for him and questioned him: he told me, with every appearance of sincerity, that he had never but once seen the man who had brought him the manuscript. I was convinced of the truth of what he said, and I gave an order for his liberation. To avoid irritating the susceptibility of the minister of police, I wrote to him the following few lines: "The libel is the most miserable rhapsody imaginable. The author, probably with the view of selling his pamphlet in Holstein, predicts that Denmark will conquer every other nation, and become the greatest kingdom in the world. This trait alone will suffice to prove to you how little danger there is in fooleries, written in the style of the Apocalypse."

M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May, but he did not arrive until the 20th. He had left London on the

15th. I was assured that several emigrants had taken the opportunity of coming with him on board the packet-boat. This was true, and some emigrants arrived, who were by no means the most select of that body. Among them was a Baron d'Imbert, who was accompanied by a *Sieur Louis*, his secretary, and *MM. Barthélemy and Plagnés*. In a list which *Fouché* had sent me, *Barthélemy* was designated as a clerk, on board the corvette *Tantallen*, and *Plagnés* as an officer in the marines. *D'Imbert* maintained that he had been banished from England with the three individuals who accompanied him, on account of a demand of 5000*l.* which he had made upon *Mr. Cooke*, one of the under secretaries of state, on account of advances to agents whom he, *d'Imbert*, had sent to France in obedience to the instructions of the English ministry. *D'Imbert* added, that it had been found convenient to evade the payment of this sum by banishing him. I indeed saw it stated in the English journals at the time, that two French emigrants, *Martello* and *Dublin*, were arrested in London, and that thirty emigrants were about to be sent from England. Among the latter appeared the name of *Baron d'Imbert* and also that of *General Danican*, who opposed the convention and led the sections who were termed rebels, on the 13th *Vendémiaire*. It is well known how *Danican* fell beneath the tact and boldness of the young *General Bonaparte*. He escaped, by flight, the sentence of death pronounced upon him by a court-martial. He afterwards became a constant, though not a very able, agent of the royalists. On the 20th of May, *Danican* arrived at *Altona* from London. As it was alleged that he would certainly come to Hamburg to see one of his friends, I sent a description of him to the commander of the gendarmerie.

Danican said he was going to Sweden, whither he had been summoned by the king, who was making every exertion to recruit the enemies of France. He had seen the German Legion embark. Twenty men belonging to that legion had attempted to escape, and had been conveyd to London in irons. According to the account given by *Danican*, the legion was more favourable to the French than to the English. I also learned from *Danican*, who related all these circumstances at his inn, in the presence of some one who reported them to me, that the *Sieur Derolle*, a man in the confidence of the Count d'Artois, having swindled 30,000 francs of the property left by *Pichegru*, and being prosecuted for that offence by Count de la Chapelle, division was sown in the party, because the Count d'Artois wished to defend his favourite *Derolle*. *Danican*, on the part of the English government, made some propositions to the *Sieur Belcombe* (the *Abbé Delamarre*). The latter rejected them, saying, "What reliance can be placed on a government that chooses *Fauche-Borel* as its confidential agent?" This was in allusion to what *Danican* had said to him some months before, viz., that

Mr. Hammond saw only with the eyes of Fauche-Borel, and acted only by his counsels.

Danican came once to Hamburg, but the gendarmes missed him, and took another Frenchman for him. He returned to England on the 29th of July. I do not know what prevented his going to the King of Sweden, as he announced his intention of doing. In his furious animosity against *Monsieur Bonaparte*, the King of Sweden published all his communications with the Bourbons. I read in a bulletin, dated Stralsund, "Colonel Count de Blacas, sent on a special mission from Louis XVIII., has arrived here from Mittau, and this day had an audience of his majesty."

Among the newly-arrived emigrants there was another, who, from the part he had played at the commencement of the revolution, possessed a degree of importance different from that of Baron d'Imbert and General Danican. He has been frequently mentioned in the course of these memoirs. I allude to Dumouriez. That general had, for a long time, been commander-in-chief in a pamphlet war against the French government, and he at length determined to take up the arms he had formerly borne. One of my agents in London informed me, that, after a great deal of tergiversation, Dumouriez had accepted the command of the Swedish troops which were to be landed at Stralsund, and to which was to be joined the Hanoverian legion, then at sea. But, during all this hesitation, Napoleon, who never hesitated, was advancing by giant strides, though not without considerable difficulty, on the confines of Russia, while his able lieutenants were conquering provinces in the north of Prussia on an immense line of operations.

After the battle of Eylau, I received a despatch from M. Talleyrand, to which was added an account in French of that memorable battle, which was more fatal to the conqueror than to the other party; I cannot say the conquered, in speaking of the Russians; the more especially when I recollect the precautions which were then taken throughout Germany to make known the French before the Russian version. The emperor was exceedingly anxious that every one should view that event as he himself viewed it. Other accounts than his might have produced an unfavourable impression in the north. I therefore had orders to publish that account. I caused two thousand copies of it to be published, which were more than sufficient for circulation in the Hanse Towns and their territories.

The reader will perhaps complain that I have been almost silent with respect to the grand manœuvres of the French army from the battle of Eylau to that of Friedland, where, at all events, our success was indisputable. There was no necessity for printing favourable versions of that event, and, besides, its immense results were soon felt throughout Europe. The interview at Tilsit is one of the culminating points of modern history, and

the waters of the Niemen reflected the image of Napoleon at the height of his glory. The interview between the two emperors at Tilsit, and the melancholy situation of the King of Prussia, are generally known. I was made acquainted with but few secret details relative to those events; for Rapp had gone to Dantzic, and it was he who most readily communicated to me all that the emperor said and did, and all that was passing around him.*

I, however, learned one circumstance peculiarly worthy of remark, which occurred in the emperor's apartments at Tilsit, the first time he received a visit from the King of Prussia. That unfortunate monarch, who was accompanied by Queen Wilhelmina, had taken refuge in a mill beyond the town. This was his sole habitation, whilst the emperors occupied the two portions of the town, which is divided by the Niemen. The fact I am about to relate reached me indirectly through the medium of an officer of the imperial guard, who was on duty in Napoleon's apartments and was an eyewitness of it. When the Emperor Alex-

* Savary gives the following interesting account of the interview between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit :

"The Emperor Napoleon, whose courtesy was manifest in all his actions, ordered a large raft to be floated in the middle of the river, upon which was constructed a room well covered in and elegantly decorated, having two doors on opposite sides, each of which opened into an antechamber. The work could not have been better executed in Paris. The roof was surmounted by two weather-cocks : one displaying the eagle of Russia, and the other the eagle of France. The two outer doors were also surmounted by the eagles of the two countries.

"The raft was precisely in the middle of the river, with the two doors of the saloon facing the two opposite banks.

"The two sovereigns appeared on the banks of the river, and embarked at the same moment. But the Emperor Napoleon having a good boat, manned by marines of the guard, arrived first on the raft, entered the room, and went to the opposite door, which he opened, and then stationed himself on the edge of the raft to receive the Emperor Alexander, who had not yet arrived, not having such good rowers as the Emperor Napoleon.

"The two emperors met in the most amicable way, at least to all appearance. They remained together for a considerable time, and then took leave of each other with as friendly an air as that with which they had met.

"Next day the Emperor of Russia established himself at Tilsit with a battalion of his guard. Orders were given for evacuating that part of the town where he and his battalion were to be quartered ; and though we were very much pressed for room, no encroachment on the space allotted to the Russians was thought of.

"On the day the Emperor Alexander entered Tilsit, the whole army was under arms. The imperial guard was drawn out in two lines of three deep from the landing-place to the Emperor Napoleon's quarters, and from thence to the quarters of the Emperor of Russia. A salute of one hundred guns was fired the moment Alexander stepped ashore, on the spot where the Emperor Napoleon was waiting to receive him. The latter carried his attention to his visitor so far, as to send from his quarters the furniture for Alexander's bedchamber. Among the articles sent was a camp-bed belonging to the emperor, which he presented to Alexander, who appeared much pleased with the gift.

"This meeting, the first which history records of the same kind and of equal importance, attracted visitors to Tilsit from a hundred leagues round. M. de Talleyrand arrived, and after the observance of the usual ceremonies, business began to be discussed."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (Editor.)

ander visited Napoleon, they continued for a long time in conversation on a balcony below, where an immense crowd hailed their meeting with enthusiastic shouts. Napoleon commenced the conversation, as he did the year preceding with the Emperor of Austria, by speaking of the uncertain fate of war. Whilst they were conversing, the King of Prussia was announced. The king's emotion was visible, and may easily be imagined; for as hostilities were suspended, and his territory in possession of the French, his only hope was in the generosity of the conqueror. Napoleon himself, it is said, appeared moved by his situation, and invited him, together with the queen, to dinner. On sitting down to table, Napoleon with great gallantry told the beautiful queen that he would restore to her Silesia, a province which she earnestly wished should be retained in the new arrangements which were necessarily about to take place.*

I was intimately acquainted with the Prince of Wittgenstein, during his residence at Hamburg. Without having any apparent mission, he nevertheless enjoyed all the confidence of the King of Prussia, to whom, on many occasions, his political talents and excellent advice were of great service. During the summer of 1807, the Prince of Wittgenstein proceeded to England. On his return he visited me, and informed me that a Russian courier from Taurroggen had arrived in London on the 30th of July, with very important despatches for M. Alopæus, the Russian minister in England. One of these despatches, which the Prince of Wittgenstein assured me he had read, stated, that there had not been sufficient time for sending copies of the treaties which had been signed at Tilsit. On the same day M. Alopæus despatched a courier to Russia with the commercial treaty which he had concluded and signed. I may here mention a circumstance connected with this commercial treaty between England and Russia, not, certainly, because the treaty is now of the slightest interest, but because the anecdote presents a striking example of British policy. The treaty was the same which M. Alopæus had proposed on his arrival in London at the beginning of March. At that time the English cabinet would not listen to it; but, step by step, as intelligence of the

* Las Casas mentions that, at the time of the treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon wrote to the Empress Josephine as follows:

“ ‘ The Queen of Prussia is really a charming woman. She is fond of coquetting with me; but do not be jealous: I am like a searchcloth, along which every thing of this sort slides, without penetrating. It would cost me too dear to play the gallant.’ ”

“ On this subject, an anecdote was related in the saloon of Josephine. It was said that the Queen of Prussia one day had a beautiful rose in her hand, which the emperor asked her to give him. The queen hesitated for a few moments, and then presented it to him, saying, ‘ Why should I so readily grant what you request, while you remain deaf to all my entreaties?’ She alluded to the fortress of Magdeburg, which she had earnestly solicited.”—*Mémorial de St. Hélène*. (Editor.)

success of the French army reached London, the ministry yielded. Every fresh victory was followed by a new concession, until at length the treaty was concluded in the terms on which Russia had proposed. The Prince of Wittgenstein gave me some further particulars respecting what he had seen or learned in England. The day after M. Alopæus received from Tilsit the laconic despatch to which I have alluded, he formally offered to the court of London the mediation of Russia to effect the conclusion of a treaty of peace between France and England, preparatory to the re-establishment of a general peace. On the 1st of August, a grand council was held at Windsor, at which George III. was present. Two days after, Mr. Canning replied to M. Alopæus, but verbally, and every one knows the difference which exists in diplomatic transactions between writing and speaking. Mr. Canning's reply was, "that the court of London would accept the mediation of Russia, but only on condition of being furnished with copies of the public and private treaties, in order that the King of England might satisfy himself that they contained no stipulations contrary to the interests of his crown and his people." Mr. Canning added, "that as Austria had, previously to the commencement of the campaign, offered to mediate between the hostile powers, it would be proper that she should act in concert with Russia in the mediation now proposed—a proceeding which would be the more suitable on the part of Austria, as she herself had voluntarily suggested it." On the 19th of August, M. Alopæus despatched a courier to St. Petersburg with Mr. Canning's verbal answer.

Mr. Canning besides declared to M. Jacobi, the Prussian ambassador at London, "that the King of England deplored the misfortunes which had befallen his master; that he felt the greatest concern for him; but that, as the Prussian ports were closed against English ships, the interests of his people, and the honour of his flag, compelled him to adopt hostile measures against Prussia." Prince Wittgenstein, in addition to these particulars, informed me that the Prince of Wales, and especially Mr. Canning, strongly urged the necessity of peace; and that the majority of the English nation earnestly desired it. Under these circumstances how unfortunate was the situation of Prussia! and could any thing be more cruel on the part of the English government than to threaten Prussia with hostilities, because she had not opened her ports to British ships? Thus the two powers who so bitterly hated each other, seemed to agree upon one point, namely, the spoliation of Prussia. France occupied all her continental territory, and England coveted her seaports, in revenge for mishaps which it was impossible to attribute to any other cause than the inflexible law of necessity.*

* Mr. Canning wished for peace, but not on Bonaparte's conditions. With regard to Prussia, M. Bourrienne forgets her provoking tergiversation and ac-

The treaty of peace concluded at Tilsit, between France and Russia, on the 7th of July, and ratified two days after, produced no less striking a change in the geographical division of Europe, than had been effected the year preceding by the treaty of Presburg. The treaty of Tilsit contained no stipulation dishonourable to Russia, whose territory was preserved inviolate; but how was Prussia treated! Some historians, for the vain pleasure of flattering, by posthumous praises, the pretended moderation of Napoleon, have almost reproached him for having suffered some remnants of the monarchy of the great Frederick to survive. There is, nevertheless, a point on which Napoleon has been wrongfully condemned, at least with reference to the campaign of 1807. It has been said that he should, at that period, have re-established the kingdom of Poland; and certainly, there is every reason to regret, for the interests of France and Europe, that it was not re-established. But when a desire, even founded on reason, is not carried into effect, should we conclude that the wished-for object ought to be achieved in defiance of all obstacles? At that time, that is to say, during the campaign of Tilsit, insurmountable obstacles existed.

If, however, by the treaty of Tilsit, the throne of Poland was not restored to serve as a barrier between old Europe and the empire of the czars, Napoleon founded a kingdom of Westphalia, which he gave to the young *Enseigne de Vaisseau*, whom he had scolded as a schoolboy, and whom he now made a king, that he might have another crowned prefect under his control.* The kingdom of Westphalia was composed of the states of Hesse-Cassel; of a part of the provinces taken from Prussia by the moderation of the emperor, and of the states of Paderborn, Fulde, Brunswick, and a part of the electorate of Hanover. Napoleon, at the same time, though he did not like to do things by halves, to avoid touching the Russian and Austrian provinces of old Poland, planted on the banks of the Vistula, the grand duchy of Warsaw, which he gave to the King of Saxony, with the intention of increasing or destroying it afterwards as he might find convenient. Thus he allowed the Poles to hope better things for the future; and ensured to himself partisans in the north, should the chances of fortune call him thither. Alexander, who was cajoled even more than his father had been, by what I may call the political coquetry of Napoleon, consented to all these arrangements, acknowledged, *in globo*, all the kings crowned by the emperor, and accepted some provinces which had belonged to his despoiled ally, the King of Prussia, doubt-

ceptance of Hanover. Moreover, as matters then stood, Prussian ports, and Prussian ships were to be considered as French, for Napoleon grasped all the kingdom as a master, and availed himself of all the resources of it.—*Editor*.

* This King of Westphalia was his brother, Jerome Bonaparte, who, unlike all the rest of the family, had scarcely a talent or a single good quality to recommend him.—*Editor*.

less by way of consolation for not having been able to get more restored to Prussia. The two emperors parted the best friends in the world; but the continental system was still in existence.

NOTES ON CAMPAIGN WITH RUSSIANS IN 1806—7.

The result of the campaign of Bonaparte against the Russians in 1806—7, cannot be stated, in a few words, better than in the following passage from a recent writer, who takes up the subject at the point when the French had entered into Poland with promises of liberty and national independence.

“French agents had previously penetrated into Russian Poland, and had spread a report that Kosciusko was at Napoleon’s head-quarters. Napoleon had invited Kosciusko, who was then living in Switzerland, to come, but that single-minded patriot, mistrusting the views of the conqueror, declined the invitation.—*Mémoires de Michel Oginski sur la Pologne et les Polonais depuis 1788 jusqu’en 1815.*”

“Napoleon received at his head-quarters at Posen, numerous addresses from various parts of Poland, entreating him to restore that country to its independence. His answers were cold and cautious. He began his winter campaign against the Russians by the battle of Pultusk (28th of December), in which the French experiencing a severe check, retired towards the Vistula. The month of January, 1807, passed without any engagements; but on the 8th of February, the great battle of Eylau was fought between the two grand armies. General Beningsen commanded the Russians. The French made repeated and furious attacks on the Russian infantry, which stood like walls of brass, and the assailants were at last obliged to desist. The battle lasted till near ten o’clock at night. The loss on both sides was dreadful; it has never been correctly ascertained, but has been roughly estimated at 50,000 men. After the battle Napoleon withdrew again to the line of the Vistula, and Beningsen retired towards Königsberg. There was no more fighting between the two armies for more than three months after. The French meantime besieged Dantzic, which was defended by the Prussian General Kalkreut, and surrendered at the end of May, 1807. Napoleon having now reinforced his army to 200,000 men, advanced again towards the Russians. On the 13th of June the battle of Friedland took place, in which, after an obstinate struggle, the Russians were at last worsted, and driven beyond the river Aller. They did not lose, however, either cannon or baggage, and they affected their retreat upon Tilsit, near the Russian frontiers.—Sir Robert Wil-

son's *Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland in 1806—7*; and *Geschichte der Feldzüge Napoleons gegen Preussen und Russland in 1806—7*, Leipzig, 1809.

"As Bonaparte and Alexander both wished for peace, an armistice was made, and a personal interview took place between the two emperors on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen on the 25th of June. The two sovereigns after this took up their residence in the town of Tilsit, where the treaty of peace was finally signed. The king of Prussia was restored to about one-half of his former territories, as far as the Elbe. The duchy of Warsaw was given to the elector of Saxony, who was made a king, and became the faithful ally of Napoleon. The principal Prussian fortresses and seaport towns were to remain in the hands of the French till the general peace. Russia made no sacrifices; on the contrary she obtained a part of Prussian Poland. But there were secret articles to the treaty, by which France allowed Russia to take Finland from Sweden, and Russia, on her part, promised to close her ports against British vessels."—*Memoir of Bonaparte. P. C.*

The battle of Pultusk was even more than a severe check to the French, and had General Kaminskoy, who was then commander-in-chief, only done his duty, Bonaparte must have been involved in dreadful perplexities. But, as if a curse attended all the enemies of the prestiged Napoleon, Kaminskoy was deranged in his intellects, and a few weeks after he betrayed such symptoms of downright madness, that he was removed from the command which was then intrusted to the brave and skilful Beningsen—the hero of this, as Blucher had been of the recent Prussian campaign. But, unluckily for Russia, Napoleon who could now dispose of so large a portion of Europe, had been allowed time to summon and press aid; and reinforcements from France, Switzerland, and the confederation of the Rhine were set in motion, and arrived in time for the decisive battle of Friedland, in which, as M. Bourrienne states, there could be no doubt that Bonaparte was the conqueror. Never, however, up to that day had he found a field so sternly contested.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER IV.

1807.

Effect produced at Altona by the treaty of Tilsit—The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin's departure from Hamburg—English squadron in the Sound—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Perfidy of England—Remark of Bonaparte to M. Lemerrier—Prussia erased from the map—Napoleon's return to Paris—Suppression of the tribunate—Obstinacy of Mustapha-Baraictar—Confiscation of English merchandise—Nine millions gained to France—M. Caulaincourt ambassador to Russia—Repugnance of England to the intervention of Russia—Affairs of Portugal—Junot appointed to command the army—The prince regent's departure for the Brazils—Heligoland taken by the English—M. Hue threatened with arrest—The Code Napoleon—Introduction of French laws into Germany—Leniency of Hamburg juries—The stolen cloak and the syndic Doormann.

THE treaty of Tilsit, as soon as it was known at Altona, spread consternation amongst the emigrants. As to the German princes, who were awaiting the issue of events, either at Altona or Hamburg, when they learned that a definitive treaty of peace had been signed between France and Russia, and that, two days after the treaty of Tilsit, the Prussian monarchy was placed at the mercy of Napoleon, every courier that arrived threw them into indescribable agitation. It depended on the emperor's will whether they were to be, or not to be. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin had not succeeded in getting himself re-established in his states, by an exceptional decision, like the Duke of Weimar; but at length he obtained the restitution of his territory, at the request of the Emperor Alexander; and on the 28th of July he quitted Hamburg to return to his duchy.

The Danish chargé-d'affaires communicated to me, about the same time, an official report from his government. This report announced, that on Monday, the 3d of August, a squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and twelve frigates, commanded by Admiral Gambier, had passed the Sound. The rest of the squadron was seen in the Categat. At the same time the English troops, which were in the island of Rugen, had re-embarked. We could not then conceive what enterprise this considerable force had been sent upon. But our uncertainty

was soon at an end. M. Didelot, the French ambassador at Copenhagen, arrived at Hamburg, at nine o'clock in the evening of the 12th of August. He had been fortunate enough to pass through the Great Belt, in sight of the English, without being stopped. I forwarded his report to Paris by an extraordinary courier.

The English had sent twenty thousand men, and twenty-seven vessels, into the Baltic; Lord Cathcart commanded the troops. The coast of Zealand was blockaded by ninety vessels. Mr. Jackson, who had been sent by England to negotiate with Denmark, which she feared would be invaded by the French troops, supported the propositions he was charged to offer to Denmark, by a reference to this powerful British force. Mr. Jackson's proposals had for their object nothing less than to induce the King of Denmark to place, in the custody of England, the whole of his ships and naval stores. They were, it is true, to be kept in deposit; but the condition contained the words "until the conclusion of a general peace," which rendered the period of their restoration uncertain. They were to be detained until the period when such precautions should be no longer necessary. A menace, and its execution, followed close upon this demand. After a noble, but useless resistance, and a terrific bombardment, Copenhagen surrendered, and the Danish fleet was destroyed. It would be difficult to find in history a more infamous and revolting instance of the abuse of power against weakness. Sometime after this event, a pamphlet, entitled "*Germania*," appeared, which I translated, and sent to the emperor. It was eloquently written, and expressed the indignation which the infamous conduct of England had excited in the author as in every one else.*

* "That expedition," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "showed great energy on the part of your ministers: but setting aside the violation of the laws of nations which you committed—for, in fact, it was nothing but a robbery—I think that it was injurious to your interests, as it made the Danish nation irreconcilable enemies to you, and, in fact, shut you out of the north for three years. When I heard of it, I said, I am glad of it, as it will embroil England irrecoverably with the northern powers. The Danes being able to join me with sixteen sail of the line was of but little consequence. I had plenty of ships, and only wanted seamen, whom you did not take, and whom I obtained afterwards: while by the expedition your ministers established their characters as faithless, and as persons with whom no engagements, no laws, were binding."—*Voice from St. Helena. (Editor.)*

This talk about the violation of the laws of nations from one who had set, and was actually setting all those laws at defiance, is absurdly impudent. We have not thought it a necessary part of our humble duty to set up a defence on all such points that occur in these memoirs, but the present charge, as reflecting on the national honour, is so serious, that we may be excused for saying a very few words upon it. The plain state of the case was this: the King of Denmark had a fleet of which Bonaparte stood in great need, and which, from the position of affairs, must fall into his hands, if not secured by the English. It was utterly impossible for the King of Denmark, who soon became a mere satrap of Napoleon's, to keep his ships out of that conqueror's clutches. We

I have stated what were the principal consequences of the treaty of Tilsit; it is more than probable, that if the bombardment of Copenhagen had preceded the treaty, the emperor would have used Prussia even worse than he did. He might have erased her from the list of nations; but he did not do so, out of regard to the Emperor Alexander. The destruction of Prussia was no new project with Bonaparte. I remember an observation of his to M. Lemercier upon that subject, when we first went to reside at Malmaison. M. Lemercier had been reading to the first consul some poem in which Frederick the Great was spoken of: "You seem to admire him greatly," said Bonaparte to M. Lemercier: "what do you find in him so astonishing? He is not equal to Turenne."—"General," replied M. Lemercier, "it is not merely the warrior that I esteem in Frederick; it is impossible to refrain from admiring a man who was a philosopher even on the throne." To this the first consul replied, in a half ill-humoured tone. "Certainly, Lemercier; but Frederick's philosophy shall not prevent me from erasing his kingdom from the map of Europe." The kingdom of Frederick the Great was not, however, obliterated from the map, because the Emperor of Russia would not basely abandon a faithful ally, who had incurred with him the chances of fortune. Prussia then bitterly had to lament the tergiversations which had prevented her from declaring herself against France during the campaign of Austerlitz.

Napoleon returned to Paris about the end of July, after an absence of ten months, the longest he had yet made since he had been at the head of the French government, whether as consul or emperor. The interview at Tilsit, the emperor Alexander's friendship, which was spoken of every where in terms of exaggeration, and the peace established on the continent, conferred on Napoleon a moral influence in public opinion, which he had not possessed since his coronation. Constant in his hatred of deliberative assemblies, which he had often termed collections of babblers, ideologists, and phrasemongers, Napoleon, on his return to Paris, suppressed the tribunate, which had been

demanded then, for our own safety, that he should surrender his vessels of war to us, not in property as prizes, but merely in pledge, and in order that their guns should not be turned against us. He refused, and then we took them, and brought them to England, but did not destroy them as stated by M. Bourrienne. It was a harsh measure, as regarded the Danes, but self-defence justified it. Let us take a familiar case: A man knows that in the house immediately adjoining his own, there is deposited a quantity of gunpowder sufficient to endanger his property or his life; he is perfectly well aware of his next-door neighbour's pacific and friendly intentions, but he also knows that his neighbour's next-door neighbour has a deadly spite against him, and being much stronger than the proprietor of the house where the powder is, that he will seize it to do him a mischief. What does he?—what ought a man to do under such circumstances, but hasten and be the first to seize the powder, and remove it from a point so dangerous to himself? This is neither more nor less than what we did with regard to the Danish fleet.—*Editor.*

an annoyance to him ever since the first day of his elevation. The emperor, who was skilful above all men in speculating on the favourable disposition of opinion, availed himself at this conjuncture of the enthusiasm produced by his interview on the Niemen. He therefore discarded from the fundamental institutions of the government, that which still retained the shadow of a popular character. But it was necessary that he should possess a senate merely to vote men; a mute legislative body to vote money; that there should be no opposition in the one, and no criticism in the other; no control over him of any description. The power of arbitrarily doing whatever he pleased; an enslaved press;—this was what Napoleon wished, and this he obtained. But the month of March, 1814, resolved the question of absolute power.

In the midst of the singularly complicated situation of affairs in Europe, after the peace of Tilsit, it was not a little surprising to observe how the emperor's influence with the grand signior had diminished. After he had succeeded so well in arming Turkey against Russia, he failed in his attempt to restore the good understanding he had interrupted. Every endeavour for this purpose, during the ephemeral reign of Mustapha-Bairactar, was useless. Guilleminot could not appease the storm which Sebastiani had conjured up, and the Turks determined to continue in a state of war with Russia. The emperor had promised Alexander to use his utmost exertions to restore peace. To prove his sincerity, he gave Guilleminot orders to that effect, but all in vain. Mustapha proved inflexible. The war continued, and soon became more complicated, when the emperor's evil star led him to take part in the fatal affairs of Spain. Distant as I was from the scene, I obtained some curious information, which I will relate with confidence, having no reason to doubt the purity of the source whence I obtained it.

In the midst of these great affairs, and while Napoleon was dreaming of universal monarchy, I beheld, in a less extensive sphere, the inevitable consequences of the ambition of a single man. Pillage and robbery were carried on in all parts over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended. Rapine seemed to be legally authorized, and was perpetrated with such fury, and at the same time with such ignorance, that the agents were frequently unacquainted with the value of the articles which they seized. Thus, for example, the emperor ordered the seizure, at Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, of all English merchandise, whatever might be its nature or origin. The Prince of Neuchatel* wrote to me from the emperor, that I must procure ten millions of francs from the Hanse Towns. M. Daru, the commissary-in-chief, whose business it was to collect this sort of levies, which Napoleon had learned to make in Egypt, wrote to

* Marshal Berthier.

urge me to obtain a prompt and favourable decision. The unfortunate towns which I was thus enjoined to oppress, had already suffered sufficiently. I had obtained, by means of negotiation, more than was demanded for the ransom of the English merchandise, which had been seized according to order. Before I received the letters of M. Daru and the Prince of Neufchatel, I had obtained from Hamburg sixteen millions instead of ten, besides nearly three millions from Bremen and Lubeck. Thus I furnished the government with nine millions more than had been required, and yet I had so managed, that those enormous sacrifices were not over oppressive to those who made them. I fixed the value of the English merchandise, because I knew that the high price at which it sold on the continent would not only cover the proposed ransom, but also leave a considerable profit. Such was the singular effect of the continental system.

Peace being concluded with Russia, it was necessary to make choice of an ambassador, not only to maintain the new relations of amity between Napoleon and Alexander, but likewise to urge on the promised intervention of Russia with England; to bring about reconciliation and peace between the cabinets of Paris and London. The emperor confided this mission to Caulaincourt, with respect to whom there existed an unfounded prejudice relating to some circumstances which preceded the death of the Duke d'Enghien. This unfortunate and unjust impression had preceded Caulaincourt to St. Petersburg, and it was feared that he would not experience the reception due to the French ambassador, and to his own personal qualities. I knew at the time, from positive information, that after a short explanation with Alexander, that monarch retained no suspicion unfavourable to our ambassador, for whom he conceived and maintained great esteem and friendship.

Caulaincourt's mission was not, in all respects, easy of fulfilment, for the invincible repugnance and reiterated refusal of England to enter into negotiations with France, through the medium of Russia, was one of the remarkable circumstances of the period of which I am speaking. I knew positively that England was determined never to allow Napoleon to possess himself of the whole of the continent, a project which he indicated too undisguisedly to admit of any doubt respecting it. For two years he had indeed advanced with rapid strides; but England was not discouraged. She was too well aware of the irritation of the sovereigns, and the discontent of the people, not to be certain, that when she desired it, her lever of gold would again raise up and arm the continent against the encroaching power of Napoleon. He, on his part, perceiving that all his attempts were fruitless, and that England would listen to no proposals, devised fresh plans for raising up new enemies against England.

It probably is not forgotten, that in 1801 France compelled Portugal to make common cause with her against England. In

1807 the emperor did again what the first consul had done. By an inexplicable fatality, Junot obtained the command of the troops which were marching against Portugal. I say against Portugal, for that was the fact, though France represented herself as a protector to deliver Portugal from the influence of England. Be that as it may, the choice which the emperor made of a commander astonished every body. Was Junot, a compound of vanity and mediocrity, the fit man to be intrusted with the command of an army in a distant country, and under circumstances in which great political and military talents were requisite? For my own part, knowing Junot's incapacity, I must acknowledge that his appointment astonished me. I remember, one day, when I was speaking on the subject to Bernadotte, he showed me a letter he had received from Paris, in which it was said, that the emperor had sent Junot to Portugal only for the sake of depriving him of the government of Paris. Junot annoyed Napoleon by his bad conduct, his folly, and his incredible extravagance. He was alike devoid of dignity—either in feeling or conduct. Thus Portugal was twice the place of exile selected by consular and imperial caprice: first, when the first consul wished to get rid of the familiarity of Lannes; and next, when the emperor grew weary of the misconduct of a favourite.

The invasion of Portugal presented no difficulty. It was an armed promenade, and not a war; but how many events were connected with the occupation of that country! The Prince Regent of Portugal, unwilling to act dishonourably to England, to which he was allied by treaties, and unable to oppose the whole power of Napoleon, embarked for Brazil, declaring that all defence was useless. At the same time he recommended his subjects to receive the French troops in a friendly manner, and said, that he consigned to Providence the consequences of an invasion which was without a motive. He was answered in the emperor's name, that Portugal being the ally of England, we were only carrying on hostilities against the latter country by invading his dominions.* But whilst our eagles were advancing on Lisbon, England captured the island of Heligoland. Much more importance has been attributed to that event than it really deserved. The garrison, which was brought to Gluckstadt, consisted only of thirty invalids. The only circumstance which conferred any importance on the little island of Heligoland, was its situation at the mouths of the Elbe and the Eyder. It furnishes pilots for ships sailing into either of those rivers.

The conduct of England with respect to Denmark and the bombardment of Copenhagen, excited general indignation even amongst persons who were not favourable to Napoleon's cause, *which Denmark sincerely joined*. The Prince Royal of Denmark,

* When Bonaparte used this argument what did he think of his severe strictures on our proceedings in Denmark?—*Editor*.

wishing to be revenged for the violence committed upon his capital, regarded as his enemies all who made common cause with England, and ordered M. Hue to be arrested.

It was in the month of November, that the code of French jurisprudence, upon which the most learned legislators had indefatigably laboured, was established, as the law of the state under the title of the Code Napoleon. Doubtless this legislative monument will redound to Napoleon's honour in history;* but was it to be supposed that the same laws would be equally applicable throughout so vast an extent as that comprised within the French empire? Impossible as this was, as soon as the Code Napoleon was promulgated, I received orders to establish it in the Hanse Towns. The long and frequent conversations I had on this subject with the senators, and the most able lawyers of the country, soon convinced me of the immense difficulty I should have to encounter, and the danger of suddenly altering habits and customs which had been firmly established by time.

The jury system gave tolerable satisfaction; but the severe punishments assigned to certain offences by the code were disapproved of. Hence resulted the frequent and serious abuse of men being acquitted, whose guilt was evident to the jury, who pronounced them not guilty, rather than condemn them to a punishment which was thought too severe. Besides, their leniency had another ground, which was, that the people being ignorant of the new laws, were not aware of the penalties attached to particular offences. I remember that a man who was accused of stealing a cloak at Hamburg, justified himself on the ground that he committed the offence in a fit of intoxication. M. Von Einigen, one of the jury, insisted that the prisoner was not guilty, because, as he said, the syndic Doormann, when dining with him one day, having drunk more wine than usual, took away *his* cloak. This defence *per Baccho* was completely successful. An argument founded on the similarity between the conduct of the syndic and the accused, could not but triumph; otherwise the little debauch of the former would have been condemned in the person of the latter. This trial, which terminated so whimsically, nevertheless proves, that the best and the gravest institutions may become the objects of ridicule when suddenly introduced into a country whose habits are not prepared to receive them.

The Romans very wisely reserved in the Capitol a place for the gods of the nations they conquered. They wished to annex provinces and kingdoms to their empire. Napoleon, on the contrary, wished to make his empire encroach upon other states, and to realize the impossible Utopia of ten different nations, all

* Bonaparte was as proud of his Code as of his victories. He was accustomed to say, "I shall go down to posterity with the Code in my hand."—*Editor.*

having different customs and languages, united into a single state. Could justice, that safeguard of human rights, be duly administered in the Hanse Towns, when those towns were converted into French departments? In these new departments many judges had been appointed who did not understand a word of German, and who had no knowledge of law. The presidents of the tribunals of Lubeck, Stade, Bremerlehe, and Minden, were so utterly ignorant of the German language, that it was necessary to explain to them all the pleadings in the council-chamber. Was it not absurd to establish such a judicial system, and above all, to appoint such men in a country so important to France, as Hamburg and the Hanse Towns? Add to this the impertinence of some favourites who were sent from Paris to serve official and legal apprenticeships in the conquered provinces, and it may be easily conceived what was the attachment of the people to Napoleon the Great.

CHAPTER V.

1807—1808.

Disturbed state of Spain—Godoy, Prince of the Peace—Reciprocal accusations between the King of Spain and his son—False promise of Napoleon—Dissatisfaction occasioned by the presence of the French troops—Abdication of Charles IV.—The Prince of the Peace made prisoner—Murat at Madrid—Important news transmitted by a commercial letter—Murat's ambition—His protection of Godoy—Charles IV. denies his voluntary abdication—The crown of Spain destined for Joseph—General disapprobation of Napoleon's conduct.

THE disorders of Spain, which commenced about the close of the year 1807, soon assumed a most complicated aspect. Though far from the theatre of events, I obtained an intimate knowledge of all the important facts connected with the extraordinary transactions of the Peninsula. However, as this point of history is one of the most generally, though I cannot say the best, known, I shall cancel in my notes and memoranda many things which would be but repetitions to the reading portion of the public. It is a remarkable fact that Bonaparte, who, by turns, cast his eyes on all the states of Europe, never directed his attention to Spain as long as his greatness was confined to mere projects. Whenever he spoke of his future destiny, he alluded to Italy, Germany, the East, and the destruction of the English power; but never to Spain. Consequently, when he heard of the first symptoms of disorder in the Peninsula, he paid but little attention to the business, and some time elapsed before he took any part in events which, subsequently, had so great an influence on his fate.

Godoy reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV.* He was an object of execration to all who were not his creatures; and even those whose fate depended upon him, viewed him with the most profound contempt. The hatred of a people is almost always the just reward of favourites. What sentiments, therefore, must have been inspired by a man who, to the knowledge of all Spain, owed the favour of the king only to the favours of the queen. Godoy's ascendancy over the royal family was boundless; his power was absolute: the treasures of America were at his command, and he made the most infamous use of them. In short, he had made the court of Madrid one of those places to which the indignant muse of Juvenal conducts the mother of Britannicus. There is no doubt that Godoy was one of the principal causes of all the misfortunes which have overwhelmed Spain under so many various forms.

The hatred of the Spaniards against the Prince of the Peace was general. This hatred was shared by the Prince of the Asturias, who openly declared himself the enemy of Godoy. The latter allied himself with France, from which he hoped to obtain powerful protection against his enemies. This alliance gave rise to great dissatisfaction in Spain, and caused France to be regarded with an unfavourable eye. The Prince of the Asturias† was encouraged and supported by the complaints of the Spaniards, who wished to see the overthrow of Godoy's power.

Charles IV., on his part, regarded all opposition to the Prince of the Peace as directed against himself, and in November, 1807, he accused his son of wishing to dethrone him.‡

* Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the guards, became the paramour of Charles the Fourth's queen; then a grandee; and then the supreme manager of the state.—*Editor*.

† The late king, Ferdinand VI.

‡ This accusation is said to have been conveyed to Napoleon in the following letter, addressed to him by Charles IV.—*Editor*.

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,

"At the moment when I was occupied with the means of co-operating for the destruction of our common enemy, when I believed that all the plots of the late Queen of Naples had been buried with her daughter, I perceive, with a horror that makes me tremble, that the most dreadful spirit of intrigue has penetrated even into the heart of my palace. Alas! my heart bleeds at reciting so dreadful an outrage. My eldest son, the presumptive heir to my throne, entered into a horrible plot to dethrone me; he even went to the extreme of attempting the life of his mother. So dreadful a crime ought to be punished with the most exemplary rigour of the laws. *The law which calls him to the succession ought to be revoked; one of his brothers will be more worthy to occupy his place, both in my heart and on the throne.* I am at this moment in search of his accomplices, in order to sift thoroughly this plan of most atrocious wickedness; and I would not lose a moment in informing your imperial and royal majesty of it, and to beseech you to assist me with your knowledge and counsel.

"For which I pray, &c.

"CHARLES.

"San Lorenzo, November 29, 1807."

The French ambassador in Spain, M. de Beauharnais, a relation of Josephine's first husband, was a very circumspect man. His situation at Madrid was extremely delicate and difficult. Without being gifted with any superior abilities, M. de Beauharnais possessed a certain tact which enabled him to see into things, and it was he who first informed the government of the misunderstanding which existed between the King of Spain and the Prince of the Asturias. He could not, indeed, avoid informing his court of all he observed. Could he conceal from the emperor that in the excess of his irritation against his son, Charles IV. had openly manifested a wish to revoke the law which called the Prince of the Asturias to the succession of one of the thrones of Charles V. ? The King of Spain did not confine himself to verbal complaints. He, or rather the Prince of the Peace, acting in his name, arrested the warmest partisans of the Prince of the Asturias. The latter, understanding the sentiments of his father, wrote to Napoleon, soliciting his support. Thus the father and son, at open war, were appealing one against another, for the support of him who wished only to get rid of them both, and to put one of his brothers in their place, that he might have one junior more in the college of European kings : but, as I have already mentioned, this new ambition was not premeditated ; and if he gave the throne of Spain to his brother Joseph, it was only on the refusal of his brother Louis (King of Holland) to accept it.

The emperor had promised to support Charles IV. against his son ; and not wishing to take part in these family quarrels, he had not answered the first letters of the Prince of the Asturias. But finding that the intrigues of Madrid were taking a serious turn, he commenced provisionally by sending troops to Spain.* This gave offence to the people, who were averse to the interference of France. In the provinces through which the French troops passed, it was asked what was the object of the invasion. Some attributed it to the Prince of the Peace, others to the Prince of the Asturias ; but it excited general indignation, and troubles broke out at Madrid, accompanied by all the violence peculiar to the Spanish character.

In these fearful circumstances, Godoy proposed that Charles IV. should remove to Seville, where he would be the better en-

* French troops had appeared in Spain some months before, on their way to Portugal, the conquest of which country by Junot was to be aided by Godoy and a Spanish force of 27,000, according to a treaty (more disgraceful to the court of Spain than to Bonaparte) which had been ratified at Fontainebleau on the 29th of October, 1807. Charles IV. was little better than an idiot, and Godoy and the French made him believe that Bonaparte would give part, or the whole of Portugal, to Spain. At the time of Junot's march on Lisbon, a reserve of 40,000 French troops were assembled at Bayonne—a pretty clear indication, though the factious, infatuated court of Madrid would not see it, that Bonaparte intended to seize the whole of the peninsula.—*Editor.*

abled to visit the factious with punishment. A proposition from Godoy to his master was, in fact, a command, and Charles IV. accordingly resolved to depart. The people now looked upon Godoy as a traitor. An insurrection broke out, the palace was surrounded, and the Prince of the Peace was on the point of being massacred in an upper apartment, where he had taken refuge. One of the mob had the presence of mind to invoke in his favour the name of the Prince of the Asturias: this saved his life.*

Charles IV. did not preserve his crown; he was easily intimidated, and advantage was taken of a moment of alarm to demand that abdication, which he had not spirit to refuse. He surrendered up his rights to his son, and thus was overthrown the insolent power of the Prince of the Peace: the favourite was made prisoner, and the Spaniards, who, like all ignorant people, are easily excited, manifested their joy on the occasion with barbarous enthusiasm. Meanwhile the unfortunate king, who had escaped from imaginary rather than real dangers, and who was at first content with having exchanged the right of reigning for the right of living, no sooner found himself in safety, than he changed his mind. He wrote to the emperor, protesting against his abdication, and appealed to him as the arbiter of his future fate.

During these internal dissensions, the French army was continuing its march towards the Pyrenees. Those barriers were

* "The Prince of the Peace himself pretended to be alarmed, and perhaps was really so, when he saw the advance of our troops, of whom part had arrived at Burgos, and part entered Barcelona. He declared that the royal family had no alternative but to retire to Seville, and call the Spanish nation to arms. It was said to have been arranged that he should act this part to induce the king and the royal family to depart for Seville; and that he was to escape from them clandestinely at Seville, to go and enjoy the advantages ensured to him by the treaty of Fontainebleau. Such is the story I have heard; but I saw nothing that warranted me in believing it, at least as to the design entertained by the Prince of the Peace taking possession of the territories he had secured to himself in Portugal. Far from this, the prince knew the decree of Milan, by which Junot was made governor of Portugal, and authorized to exercise his functions in the name of the emperor. The principality of the Algarves was now no longer talked of, and no doubt the prince had ceased to flatter himself with any thought of that dominion. He assembled the king's council at the palace of Aranjuez, and, after describing the misfortunes which threatened the monarchy, he succeeded in prevailing on the council to adopt his advice, and decree the removal of the royal family to Seville. On quitting this council, the Prince of the Asturias said to the guards, as he passed through the hall in which they were stationed, 'The Prince of the Peace is a traitor: he wishes to send away my father. Prevent his departure.'

"This observation of the Prince of the Asturias was rapidly reported through town. The populace repaired to the palace of the Prince of the Peace, ransacked it, and, after vigilant search, found the prince concealed in a garret. He would undoubtedly have fallen a victim to the fury of the mob, had not some of his attendants saved him by carrying him off to prison, pretending that they did so by order of the Prince of the Asturias."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo. (Editor.)*

speedily crossed, and Murat entered Madrid in the beginning of April, 1808. Before I received any despatch from our government, I learned that Murat's presence in Madrid, far from producing a good effect, had only increased the disorder. I obtained this information from a merchant of Lubeck, who came to Hamburg on purpose to show me a letter he had received from his correspondent in Madrid. In this letter Spain was said to be a prey which Murat wished to appropriate to himself; and all that afterwards came to my knowledge, served only to prove the accuracy of the writer's information. It was perfectly true that Murat wished to conquer Spain for himself, and it is not astonishing that the inhabitants of Madrid should have understood his designs, for he carried his indiscretion so far, as openly to express his wish to become King of Spain. The emperor was informed of this, and gave him to understand, in very significant terms, that the throne of Spain was not destined for him, but that he should not be forgotten in the disposal of other crowns.

However, Napoleon's remonstrances were not sufficient to restrain the imprudence of Murat; and if he did not gain the crown of Spain for himself, he powerfully contributed to make Charles IV. lose it. That monarch, whom old habits attached to the Prince of the Peace, solicited the emperor to liberate his favourite, alleging that he and his family would be content to live in any place of security, provided Godoy were with them. The unfortunate Charles seemed to be thoroughly disgusted with greatness.

Both the king and queen so earnestly implored Godoy's liberation, that Murat, whose vanity was flattered by these royal solicitations, took the Prince of the Peace under his protection; but he, at the same time, declared, that in spite of the abdication of Charles IV., he would acknowledge none but that prince as King of Spain, until he should receive contrary orders from the emperor. This declaration placed Murat in formal opposition to the Spanish people, who, through their hatred of Godoy, embraced the cause of the heir of the throne, in whose favour Charles IV. had abdicated.

It has been remarked, that Napoleon stood in a perplexing situation in this conflict between the king and his son. This is not correct. King Charles, though he afterwards said that his abdication had been forced from him by violence and threats, had, nevertheless, tendered it. By this act Ferdinand was king; but Charles declared it was done against his will, and he retracted. The emperor's recognition was wanting, and he could give or withhold it, as he pleased.

In this state of things, Napoleon arrived at Bayonne. Thither Ferdinand was also invited to go, under pretence of arranging with the emperor the differences between his father and himself. It was some time before he could form his determination, but

at length his ill-advised friends prevailed on him to set off, and he was caught in the snare. What happened to him, as well as to his father, who repaired to Bayonne, with his inseparable friend, the Prince of the Peace, is well known. Napoleon, who had undertaken to be arbiter between the father and son, thought the best way of settling the difference was to give the disputed throne to his brother Joseph, thus verifying the fable of the "Two Lawyers and the Oyster." The insurrection in Madrid on the 2d of May, accelerated the fate of Ferdinand, who was accused of being the author of it; at least this suspicion fell on his friends and adherents.

Charles IV., it was said, would not return to Spain, and solicited an asylum in France. He signed a renunciation of his rights to the crown of Spain, which renunciation was also signed by the *infantas*.

The Prince Royal of Sweden, who was at Hamburg at this time, and the ministers of all the European powers, loudly condemned the conduct of Napoleon with respect to Spain. I cannot say whether or not M. Talleyrand advised the emperor not to attempt the overthrow of a branch of the house of Bourbon: his good sense and elevated views might certainly have suggested that advice. But the general opinion was, that had he retained the portfolio of foreign affairs, the Spanish revolution would have terminated with more decorum and good faith, than was exhibited in the *tragi-comedy* acted at Madrid and Bayonne.

NOTES ON THE TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF SPAIN.

The following condensed English account of these astounding transactions may be useful to some readers :

"We now come to another and most important transaction of Napoleon's reign, the invasion of Spain. Spain was the humble and submissive ally of Napoleon; her navy, her army, her treasures were at his disposal. She was at war with Great Britain; she had allowed a free passage to the French troops through her territory to Portugal. Other French divisions had entered Spain as friends in the beginning of 1808, and seized by stratagem the fortresses of St. Sebastian, Pamplona, and Barcelona. At the same time the internal administration of Spain was carried on in a most corrupt and profligate manner. Charles IV., his queen, and the favourite Godoy, had completely disgusted the Spaniards. An insurrectional movement took place at Aranjuez, 20th of March, and Ferdinand, the heir to the crown, who was a favourite with the people, was proclaimed

king, and Charles was induced to abdicate. Napoleon founded upon this a pretence for interfering. He invited father, mother, son, and favourite to Bayonne, where he himself repaired in April. Charles and his queen went readily; Ferdinand hesitated; but Napoleon sent Savary, who with many asseverations of his master's honourable and friendly intentions towards him, gradually decoyed the weak prince from stage to stage until he was fairly out of the Spanish territory. A scene of duplicity and dishonesty, of indecent and unnatural recriminations now took place between Napoleon, the old king, the queen, and her son, which for moral turpitude has no parallel in history.—*Don Pedro Cevallos, and the Canon Escoiquiz's accounts.* Charles resumed his character of king, stigmatized Ferdinand as a rebellious son; the queen joined in reviling and disgracing him at the expense of her own and her husband's honour,* and Ferdinand, overwhelmed by insults and threats, renounced his claim to the crown of Spain on the 6th of May. (Concerning the real sentiments of Ferdinand expressed in his intercepted letters, see Bausset, *Mémoires anecdotiques sur l'Intérieur du Palais.*) Charles likewise resigned all his rights 'in favour of his friend and ally the emperor of the French.' Napoleon now issued a decree, appointing 'his dearly-beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily, to the crowns of Spain and the Indies.' By a subsequent decree, 15th of July, he appointed 'his dearly-beloved cousin, Joachim Murat, grand Duke of Berg, to the throne of Naples and Sicily, which remained vacant by the accession of Joseph Napoleon to the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies.' Both these curious documents are signed Napoleon, and countersigned by the ministers secretary of state, Maret."—*Memoir of Bonaparte. P. C.*

* This shameless royal virago told Ferdinand in the presence of Napoleon and of her husband Charles IV., that the king was not his father—that he was her son by an adulterous intercourse.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER VI.

1808.

The Bourbon cause apparently lost—Louis XVIII. after his departure from France—The Count de Provence at Coblenz—He seeks refuge in Turin and Verona—Death of Louis XVII.—Louis XVIII. refused an asylum in Austria, Saxony, and Prussia—His residence at Mittau and Warsaw—Alexander and Louis XVIII.—The king's departure from Milan and arrival at Yarmouth—Determination of the King of England—M. Lemercier's prophecy to Bonaparte—Fouché's inquiries respecting Count Rechteren—Note from Josephine—New demands on the Hanse Towns—Order to raise three thousand sailors in Hamburg—Departure of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo—Prediction and superstition—Stoppage of letters addressed to the Spanish troops—La Romana and Romanillos.

AFTER the treaty of Tilsit, and the bonds of friendship, which seemed likely to produce a permanent union between the emperors of France and Russia, the cause of the Bourbons must have been considered irretrievably lost. Indeed, their only hope consisted in the imprudence and folly of him who had usurped their throne, and that hope they cherished. I will here relate what I had the opportunity of learning respecting the conduct of Louis XVIII., after his departure from France: this will naturally bring me to the end of November 1807, at which time I read in the "*Abeille du Nord*," published on the 9th of the same month, that the Count de Lille and the Duke d'Angoulême had set off for England.

The Count de Provence, as Louis's title then went, left Paris on the 21st of June, 1791. He constantly expressed his wish of keeping as near as possible to the frontiers of France. He at first took up his abode at Coblenz, and I knew from good authority that all the emigrants did not regard him with a favourable eye. They could not pardon the wise principles he had professed at a period when there was yet time to prevent, by reasonable concession, the misfortunes which imprudent irritation brought upon France. When the emigrants, after the campaign of 1792, passed the Rhine, the Count de Provence resided in the little town of Ham on the Lippe, where he remained until he was persuaded that the people of Toulon had

called him to Provence. As he could not, of course, pass through France, Monsieur repaired to the court of his father-in-law, the King of Sardinia, hoping to embark at Genoa, and from thence to reach the coast of Provence. But the evacuation of Toulon, where the name of Bonaparte was for the first time sounded by the breath of fame, having taken place before he was able to leave Turin, Monsieur remained there four months, at the expiration of which time his father-in-law intimated to him the impossibility of his remaining longer in the Sardinian states. He was afterwards permitted to reside at Verona, where he heard of Louis XVII.'s death. After remaining two years in that city, the senate of Venice forbade his presence in the Venetian states. Thus forced to quit Italy, the count repaired to the army of Condé.

The heartless policy of the Austrian cabinet afforded no asylum to the Count de Provence; and he was obliged to pass through Germany; yet, as Louis XVIII. repeated over and over again, even since the restoration, "He never intended to shed French blood in Germany, for the sake of serving foreign interests." Monsieur had, indeed, too much penetration not to see that his cause was a mere pretext for the powers at war with France. They felt but little for the misfortunes of the prince, and merely wished to veil their ambition and their hatred of France, under the false pretence of zeal for the house of Bourbon.

When the dauphin died, Louis XVIII. took the title of King of France, and went to Prussia, where he obtained an asylum. But the pretender to the crown of France had not yet drained his cup of misfortune. After the 18th Fructidor, the Directory required the King of Prussia to send away Louis XVIII.; and the cabinet of Berlin, it must be granted, was not in a situation to oppose the desire of the French government, whose wishes were commands. In vain Louis XVIII. sought an asylum in the King of Saxony's states. There only remained Russia that durst offer a last refuge to the descendant of Louis XIV. Paul I., who was always in extremes, and who at that time entertained a violent feeling of hatred towards France, earnestly offered Louis XVIII. a residence at Mittau. He treated him with the honours of a sovereign, and loaded him with marks of attention and respect. Three years had scarcely passed, when Paul was seized with mad enthusiasm for the man who, twelve years later, ravaged his ancient capital, and Louis XVIII. found himself expelled from that prince's territory, with a harshness equal to the kindness with which he had, at first, been received.

It was during his three years' residence at Mittau, that Louis XVIII., who was then known by the title of Count de Lille, wrote to the first consul those letters which have been inserted in these memoirs. Prussia, being again solicited, at length consented that Louis XVIII. should reside at Warsaw; but on

the accession of Napoleon to the empire, the prince quitted that residence, in order to consult respecting his new situation with the only sovereign who had not deserted him in his misfortune, viz., the King of Sweden. They met at Colmar, and from that city was dated the protest which I have already noticed. Louis XVIII. did not stay long in the states of the King of Sweden. Russia was now on the point of joining her eagles with those of Austria, to oppose the new eagles of imperial France. Alexander offered to the Count de Lille the asylum which Paul had granted to him, and afterwards withdrawn. Louis XVIII. accepted the offer; but after the peace of Tilsit, fearing lest Alexander might imitate the second act of his father, as well as the first, he plainly saw that he must give up all intention of residing on the continent; and it was then that I read in the "*Abeille du Nord*" the article before alluded to. There is, however, one fact, upon which I must insist, because I know it to be true, viz., that it was of his own free will that Louis XVIII. quitted Mittau; and if he was afraid that Alexander would imitate his father's conduct, that fear was without foundation. The truth is, that Alexander was ignorant even of the king's intention to go away, until he heard from Baron Driesen, governor of Mittau, that he had actually departed. Having now stated the truth on this point, I have to correct another error, if indeed it be only an error, into which some writers have fallen. It has been falsely alleged, that the king left Mittau for the purpose of fomenting fresh troubles in France. The friends of Louis XVIII., who advised him to leave Mittau, had great hopes from the last war. They cherished still greater hopes from the new wars which Bonaparte's ambition could not fail to excite; but they were not so ill-informed respecting the internal condition of France, as to expect that disturbances would arise there, or even to believe in the possibility of fomenting them. *The pear was not yet ripe* for Louis XVIII.

On the 29th of November, the contents of a letter, which had arrived from London by way of Sweden were communicated to me. This letter was dated the 3d of November, and contained some particulars respecting the Count de Lille's arrival in England. That prince had arrived at Yarmouth on the 31st of October; and it was stated that the king was obliged to wait some time in the port, until certain difficulties, respecting his landing, and the continuance of his journey, should be removed. It moreover appeared from this letter, that the King of England thought proper to refuse the Count de Lille permission to go to London, or its neighbourhood. The palace of Holyrood, in Edinburgh, was assigned as his place of residence; and Mr. Ross, secretary to Mr. Canning, conveyed the determination of the King of England to Louis XVIII. at Yarmouth.

The precaution of the English ministry in not permitting the refugee king to go near London, appeared to me remarkable,

considering the relative position of the governments of France and England, and I regarded it as a corroboration of what the Prince of Wittgenstein had told me respecting Mr. Canning's inclination for an amicable arrangement. But the moment was approaching, when the affairs of Spain were to raise an invincible obstacle to peace; to complicate more than ever the interests of the powers of Europe, and open to Napoleon that vast career of ambition which proved his ruin. He did not long allow the hopes of the emigrants to remain chimerical, and the year 1814 witnessed the realization of the prophetic remark made by M. Lemer cier, in a conversation with Bonaparte, a few days before the foundation of the empire: "If you make up the bed of the Bourbons, general, you will not lie in it ten years." Napoleon lay in it nine years and nine months.

Fouché, the grand investigator of the secrets of Europe, did not fail, on the first report of the agitations in Spain, to address to me question on question respecting the Count Rechteren, the Spanish minister at Hamburg, who, however, had left that city, with the permission of his court, four months after I had entered on my functions. This was going back very far to seek information respecting the affairs of the day. At the very moment when I transmitted a reply to Fouché which was not calculated to please him, because it afforded no ground for suspicion as to the personal conduct of M. Rechteren, I received from the amiable Josephine a new mark of her remembrance. She sent me the following note:

"M. Milon, who is now in Hamburg, wishes me, my dear Bourrienne, to request that you will use your interest in his favour. I feel the more pleasure in making this request, as it affords me an opportunity of renewing the assurance of my regard for you."

Josephine's letter was dated from Fontainebleau, whither the emperor used to make journeys in imitation of the old court of France. During these excursions he sometimes partook of the pleasures of the chase; but merely for the sake of reviving an old custom, for in that exercise he found as little amusement as Montaigne did in the game of chess. At Fontainebleau, as every where else, his mind was engaged with the means of augmenting his greatness; but, unfortunately, the exactions he imposed on distant countries were calculated to alienate the affections of the people. Thus, for example, I received an order emanating from him, and transmitted to me by M. Daru, the commissary-in-chief of the army, that the pay of all the French troops stationed in the Hanse Towns, should be defrayed by those towns. I lamented the necessity of making such a communication to the senates of Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburg; but my duty compelled me to do so, and I had long been accustomed to fulfil duties even more painful than this. I tried every possible means with the three states, not collectively but separately, to induce

them to comply with the measure, in the hope that the assent of one would help me to obtain that of the two others. But, as if they had been all agreed, I only received evasive expressions of regret.

Knowing as I did, and I may say better than any one else, the hopes and designs of Bonaparte respecting the north of Germany, it was not without pain, nor even without alarm, that I saw him doing every thing calculated to convert into enemies the inhabitants of a country, which would always have remained quiet, had it only been permitted to preserve its neutrality. Among the orders I received were often many which could only have been the result of the profoundest ignorance. For example, I was one day directed to press three thousand seamen in the Hanse Towns. Three thousand seamen out of a population of two hundred thousand! What blockhead could have suggested such a project? It was as absurd as to think of raising 500,000 sailors in France. This project being impossible, it was, of course, not executed; but I had some difficulty in persuading the emperor that a sixth of the number demanded was the utmost the Hanse Towns could supply. Five hundred seamen were accordingly furnished, but to make up that number, it was necessary to include many men who were totally unfit for war service.

In the spring of 1808, a circumstance occurred which gave me much uneasiness; it was the departure of Bernadotte, prince of Ponte-Corvo, who received orders to repair to Copenhagen.* He left Hamburg on the 8th of March, as he was to reach his destination on the 14th of the same month. The Danish chargé-d'affaires also received orders to join the prince, and discharge the functions of king's commissary. It was during his government at Hamburg, and his stay in Jutland, that Bernadotte unconsciously paved his way to the throne of Sweden. I recollect that he had also his presages and his predestinations. In short, he believed in astrology, and I shall never forget the serious tone in which he one day said to me, "Would you believe, my dear friend, that it was predicted at Paris that I should be a king, but that I must cross the sea to reach my throne." I could not help smiling at this weakness of mind, from which Bonaparte was not far removed. It certainly was not any supernatural influence which elevated Bernadotte to sovereign rank. That elevation was solely due to his excellent character. He had no other talisman than the wisdom of his government, and the promptitude which he always showed to oppose unjust measures. This it was that united all opinions in his favour.

The bad state of the roads in the north prolonged Bernadotte's

* He was directed to take the command of the French troops whom the emperor sent into Denmark, after the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English.—*Bourrienne*. Whether the English had bombarded Copenhagen or not, Bernadotte would have been sent into Denmark, all the same, and, if we had not secured the fleet he would have seized it for his then master.—*Editor*.

journey one day. He set out on the 8th of March: he was expected to arrive at Copenhagen on the 14th, but did not reach there till the 15th. He arrived precisely two hours before the death of Christian, King of Denmark, an event with which he made me acquainted by a letter written two days after his arrival.

On the 6th of April following I received a second letter from Bernadotte, in which he desired me to order the grand ducal postmaster to keep back all letters addressed to the Spanish troops, who had been placed under his command, and of which the corps of Romana formed part. The postmaster was ordered to keep the letters until he received orders to forward them to their destinations. Bernadotte considered this step indispensable, to prevent the intrigues which he feared might be set on foot, in order to shake the fidelity of the Spaniards he commanded.* I saw from his despatch, that he feared the plotting of Romanillos,† who, however, was not a person to cause much apprehension. Romanillos was as commonplace a man as could well be conceived; and his speeches, as well as his writings, were too innocent to create any influence on public opinion.

CHAPTER VII:

1808.

Illegible notifications—Calumnious attack upon Baron Stein, Prince Wittgenstein, and myself—Baron Stein's love of liberty—His *Testament politique*—Accusation against Prince Wittgenstein—Surreptitious copy of a letter of the Countess Woss—Bernadotte's moderation—Indispensable measure—Gratitude of Prince Wittgenstein—Official note from the Prussian minister in Hamburg—Recent testimony of Prince Wittgenstein—Flattering letter from the King of Prussia.

IN addition to the functions with which the emperor at first invested me, I had to discharge the duties of French consul-general at Hamburg, and in that character I was obliged to present to the minister for foreign affairs a very singular request, viz., that the judicial notifications, which as consul-general I had to make known to the people of Hamburg, might be written in a more legible hand. Many of these notifications had been

* It will be remembered that this Spanish corps of Romana, afterwards broke the French leash that held them, and found their way back to the peninsula, where they fought for the independence of their native country.—*Editor*.

† Romanillos was secretary of the Spanish legation at Hamburg, and chargé-d'affaires from the cabinet of Madrid, after the departure of M. Rechteren.

disregarded on account of the impossibility of reading them. With respect to one of them, it was declared that it was impossible to discover whether the writing was German, French, or Chinese.

This affair was easily managed; but in the course of 1808, a still more serious matter occurred, in which I took great interest, and which serves to show to what a depth of turpitude those people will descend who found their fortunes on calumny. I here allude to a plot which was formed against Prince Wittgenstein. In a passage in a late publication, under the title of "Souvenirs," &c.,* it is stated, that fabricated despatches, purporting to be from Baron Stein, had been sent to the prince, with the view of making it appear that the baron was engaged in a plot for exciting an insurrection in Westphalia. It is added, that the minister, Bourrienne, had compelled the prince to write a letter, complaining of the conduct of Baron Stein. I shall here give a precise statement of the facts. Baron Stein has been too little known. As minister of the King of Prussia, he distinguished himself among the other members of the cabinet of Berlin, who supported, with all their influence, the regeneration of the people, and the creation of that public spirit which is the life and safety of nations. He wished to diffuse in all minds that conservative principle which declares, that subjects and governments must be united by bonds of mutual interest! This

* The writer makes his charge in the following terms: "The rights of man and the law of nations were violated in an extraordinary way in December, 1808, in the person of Prince Wittgenstein, the Prussian minister at Hamburg, and as this affair led to M. Stein's proscription by Bonaparte, it will not be out of place to notice it here. Prince Wittgenstein was in the habit of receiving despatches from M. Stein, the Prussian minister, who was at Koningsberg with the king; and Bonaparte was curious to know the contents of these despatches. For this purpose, having caused one of the couriers to be arrested and detained, he examined his despatches, and afterwards forwarded them to Prince Wittgenstein, at Hamburg. The despatches contained severe reflections on Bonaparte's conduct in Spain and Westphalia. He afterwards sent several forged letters, in which the handwriting of M. Stein had been imitated, to the prince, calling upon him to transmit a plan for revolutionizing Westphalia. Prince Wittgenstein, not knowing what to think of these letters, wrote to Count Goltz, and to the minister of the King of Prussia at Koningsberg, respecting the extraordinary communications he had received from M. Stein. The French agents intercepted these letters, and, fearful lest the truth might be discovered, recourse was had to new experiments.

"Prince Wittgenstein was arrested at Hamburg, and lodged in the house of Bonaparte's minister, Bourrienne. He was there compelled to write to Count Goltz respecting the conduct of M. Stein, who was stated to be endeavouring to revolutionize Westphalia, and other things equally false. These letters were sent directly to the *Moniteur*, and were inserted in that paper on the 7th of December, 1808. Bonaparte, notwithstanding all his cunning, could not keep his own secret. It is evident from the letters themselves, that Prince Wittgenstein was forced to write them, for he certainly did not send them to the *Moniteur*. As for Count Goltz, he never received them, the originals having been sent to Paris, where they remained. It was subsequently to this scandalous affair that M. Stein was outlawed."

was enough to make Bonaparte hate Baron Stein. He who could not endure in France those patriotic sentiments which, nevertheless, had opened to him the way to the throne, would not, of course, tolerate them among a people with whom he was at war; especially when he saw that a national effervescence, manifested in Prussia, might oppose a barrier to his ambition. Bonaparte attributed to Baron Stein, and to his system, the murmurs of patriotism which were at first heard faintly in the states of Frederick William, and which afterwards burst out so loudly. The animosity which Bonaparte from that moment conceived towards Baron Stein, was a proof of his shrewdness. He clearly saw into the future; and there can be little doubt, that to this first impulse given to the public mind in Prussia, must be attributed the generous feeling that was manifested when General York separated from the French troops, without waiting for the King of Prussia's consent.

In November, Baron Stein published at Koningsberg, where he then resided, a circular letter to the principal officers of the kingdom of Prussia. This document was known by the name of Baron Stein's Political Testament. This is all I know respecting Baron Stein, and, consequently, all I can say of him; but I could not allow such a calumny as had been broached to pass unnoticed.

Now, for the truth:—The Countess Woss, first lady of the court of the Queen of Prussia, wrote to her friend Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein at Hamburg, a certain letter without date of time or place. This letter, it is said, reached Hamburg on the 16th of November. Prince Wittgenstein was at Hamburg, not as a minister, but merely as a private resident. Baron Grote was then minister from Prussia to the Hanse Towns. About the time when the letter of the Countess Woss reached Hamburg, Marshal Bernadotte received one from M. Daru, dated the 14th of November, containing a copy of Madame de Woss's letter, which had been opened in the Berlin cabinet.* This copy was translated from German into French; and, in transmitting it, M. Daru desired Bernadotte to arrest Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein. From some terms used in the *translated* copy of Madame Woss's letter, it was pretended that the prince was at the head of a conspiracy, the object of which was to revolutionize Westphalia, and afterwards to assassinate the emperor.

Bernadotte immediately called on me to communicate this incomprehensible despatch. As soon as I saw it, I suspected some odious machination, and I observed to the marshal, that having resided with the prince, and knowing him well, I considered him incapable of entering into the designs attributed to him. I added, that he had often spoken to me of the Countess

* The reader must remember that the Berlin cabinet was then *French*.—*Editor.*

Woss as being a most respectable lady, and I advised him not to arrest the prince, or, at least, to delay that disagreeable measure. "Let us go and call on him," said I; "he will not expect us, and we shall see what effect our visit will produce on him; at all events, we will require him to give his word of honour not to quit Hamburg before the affair be settled." Bernadotte, who was always disposed to act kindly, complied with my request. It was ten o'clock at night when we went to call on Prince Wittgenstein, and Bernadotte had received the letter only two hours before. We found the prince in dishabille, quietly taking his tea. Supposing we had come to make him a friendly visit, he made many excuses for the way in which we found him, observing, that it was our own fault for coming so late. He behaved in his usual polite and easy way, so that we could not imagine he had any idea of the business we had come upon. The marshal tried every delicate way of giving him to understand the nature of our visit, but at last we were obliged to tell it plainly. His first idea was that we were joking; but when he saw that we were serious, and when Bernadotte presented to him the translated copy of the letter of the Countess Woss, his surprise and indignation were beyond all expression. Bernadotte required him to give his word that he would not leave Hamburg without permission, which the prince willingly did, declaring that he had not received the original of the letter communicated to us.

Next day, the 17th of November, Prince Wittgenstein called on me at an early hour. I was too well acquainted with his excellent character to require any assurance of his being neither a revolutionist nor a murderer. He seemed much agitated by what had occurred. I said all I could to allay his apprehensions, and advised him to apply for the original letter of the Countess Woss.

In spite of friendship and conviction, the orders we had received made it impossible that we could dispense with examining the prince's papers. I looked them over myself, assisted by General Gerard, and we found nothing upon which the slightest suspicion could be founded. Bernadotte, urged by my solicitations, and personally convinced of the innocence of the prince, persisted in his determination of not arresting him. However, to secure himself against any reproach, he wrote, on the 19th, a letter to the emperor, who was then in Spain, in which he stated what had passed, adding, that he had not thought it necessary to arrest Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had taken measures for securing him should it be necessary, and that he awaited further orders.

I still strongly urged Prince Wittgenstein to demand that the original letter of the Countess Woss should be shown to him. On the 21st of November, Count Daru wrote to inform him, that the original letter had been sent to the King of Prussia at

Koningsberg. On the other hand, Davoust asserted, that the original had actually been sent to Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had destroyed it, and that he now denied the projected conspiracy and poisoning. On the 22d of November, Count Woss, the nephew of the countess, had a conversation at Berlin with Count Daru, who had assured me that the letter had merely been copied, and then forwarded by the post, and that it must be delivered according to its address. But Count Woss had informed the prince, that on the 20th he had been promised to have a sight of the letter on the 23d.

These incomprehensible contradictions proved that the original letter was still in existence, and that some one had an interest in preventing it being compared with the translated copy. But the prince, conscious of his own innocence, and well assured that the Countess Woss could not have written any thing to commit him, insisted that the sense of the original letter must have been perverted in the translation.

On the 26th of November I received a letter on the subject from Baron Grote, the King of Prussia's minister, who was sent from Hamburg when M. Daru's despatch arrived. In his note the baron protested against the calumnious imputation cast on Prince Wittgenstein and the Countess Woss, and claimed my interference to cause the proceedings against the prince to be withdrawn.

In spite of the reiterated requests of Prince Wittgenstein, the original letter was not produced. At length, the day after that on which I received M. Grote's note, and thirteen days after the receipt of the translated copy of Countess Woss's letter, the prince wrote me the following note in German, the autograph of which I have preserved:

Enclosed, my dear friend, you will receive the original letter of the Countess Woss, together with one addressed to the prince,* and another to the minister Woss. If any thing else is necessary I will come immediately to you.

If I have failed in calling on you to-day, you must regard that only as a proof of the value I attach to your friendship.† Those men alone who know how to make allowance for the weakness of their fellow-creatures can inspire me with the high esteem I cherish for you. The idea of losing your friendship, and of being suspected of having been guilty of indiscretion and ingratitude, has bewildered me, and thrown me into a state of feeling I cannot describe.

Ever gratefully yours,

WITTGENSTEIN.

Hamburg, 27th of November, 1808.

* The Prince of Ponte-Corvo, i. e. Bernadotte.

† It had been agreed that Prince Wittgenstein should call on me every day to prove his presence in Hamburg; but the pleasure I derived from seeing him was the only reason for my attaching any importance to this condition. I was too well convinced of the integrity of his character to allow his absence ever to cause me the least uneasiness.

P.S.—I have not kept a copy of Count Woss's letter. If the prince wishes for his long letter which I read to you yesterday evening, he shall have a copy of it to-morrow.

Prince Wittgenstein's state of mind was not improved by the reception of the original letter of the Countess Woss. Two days after, on the 29th of November, he wrote to me the following billet:

I have just risen after having slept nine hours. I have now forgotten all my troubles, which before had almost driven me to despair. On awaking, my first prayer was, that God would bless you and your family, and procure me an opportunity of proving to you that I am not unworthy of your friendship.

The original letter of the Countess Woss, the translated copy which had been sent from Berlin, another translation which I made, and a third made by an aide-de-camp of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo (I believe M. Gentil de Saint Alphonse), were all forwarded to the emperor. He easily perceived the difference between the translations, and saw no just ground for the accusation which had been brought against Prince Wittgenstein.

After this statement of facts, supported by uncontradictable proofs, what is to be thought of the attack upon me contained in the publication from which I have given an extract? When that publication came to my knowledge I was already engaged in writing these Memoirs, though I had no idea of the time at which I might publish them. I had already in my possession all the documents to which I have just referred, and which are certainly more than sufficient to refute the unfounded attack. However, with the view of throwing all possible light on this affair, I wrote to Prince Wittgenstein, who was then, and still is, a minister of the Prussian cabinet. And on the 29th of June, 1828, I received from him an answer, in which, among other things, he said—

"If you intend to publish any thing relative to your functions at Hamburg, you can, with justice, state, that you did not induce me to write a letter to Baron Stein of the nature of that mentioned by the author of a publication, entitled, '*Nos Souvenirs, ou les Péchés de Napoléon.*' On the contrary, I retain a grateful sense of all the kindness I experienced from you during that difficult period, and I am ready to make this declaration to whomsoever may doubt my sentiments towards you."

I will now lay before the reader a letter from the King of Prussia, which was transmitted to me through the medium of Prince Wittgenstein, previously to the miserable contrivance to which the latter had wellnigh fallen a victim. I insert the letter in this place, because the date to which it refers brings me precisely to that point at which I shall resume the thread of my narrative in the next chapter. I have in my possession the autograph copy of this letter, and without affecting any false

modesty, I will candidly confess that I am proud to take this opportunity of publishing it:

MONSIEUR DE BOURRIENNE,

I am informed of the equitable dispositions and obliging interest which you have manifested for my states and for my subjects, whenever circumstances have given you the opportunity of so doing. I feel great pleasure in thus directly returning you my thanks, and I beg that you will continue to manifest the same sentiments on occasions, which will, no doubt, frequently recur. Be convinced that I shall retain a grateful recollection of your conduct, and that I shall have great satisfaction in proving, by all means in my power, that I render you full justice. I pray God, &c.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Koningsberg, March 18, 1808.

CHAPTER VIII.

1808.

Eagerness of the German princes to join the confederation of the Rhine—Attack upon me on account of Mr. Hue—Bernadotte's successor in Hamburg—Exactions and tyrannical conduct of General Dupas—Disturbance in Hamburg—Plates broken in a fit of rage—My letter to Bernadotte—His reply—Bernadotte's return to Hamburg, and departure of Dupas for Lubeck—Noble conduct of the aide-de-camp Barral—Promulgation of the Code of Commerce—Conquests by *senatus consulta*—Three events in one day—Recollections—Application of a line of Voltaire—Creation of the imperial nobility—Restoration of the university—Aggrandizement of the kingdom of Italy, at the expense of Rome—Cardinal Caprara's departure from Paris—The interview at Erfurt.

I SHALL not trace a picture of all the acts of turpitude committed by second-rate ambitious aspirants, who hoped to come in for their share in the division of the continent. The emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a twelfthcake, but* none of them ventured to dispute the best bit with Napoleon. Long would be the litany, were I to enregister all the fraud and

* This passage scarcely admits of a literal translation which would be unintelligible to many readers. The point, though trifling, is curious. Bourrienne says,

"The emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a twelfthcake (*un gâteau des rois*), but none of them ventured to dispute the bean (*la fève*) with Napoleon. In French twelfthcakes there is a bean concealed in the midst, and in the division of the cake the person to whose lot the bean falls, is proclaimed king for the night. This stands in lieu of our custom of drawing for king and queen.—*Editor*.

treachery which they committed, either to augment their fortunes or to win the favour of the chief, who wished to have kings for his subjects. The fact is, that all the princes of Germany displayed the greatest eagerness to range themselves under the protection of Napoleon, by joining the Confederation of the Rhine. I received from those princes several letters, which served to prove at once the influence of Napoleon in Germany, and the facility with which men bend beneath the yoke of a new power. I must say, that among the emigrants who remained faithful to their cause, there were some who evinced more firmness of character than the foreign princes. I may mention, for example, M. Hue, the valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI. I do not intend to deny the high regard I entertained for that faithful servant of the martyred king: but the attentions which I congratulate myself on having shown to an excellent man, should not have subjected me to false imputations.

I have read the following statement in a publication: "M. Hue retired to Hamburg, where he passed nine months in perfect obscurity. He afterwards went to Holland, provided with a passport from Bourrienne, who was Napoleon's minister, though in disgrace, and who, foreseeing what was to happen, sought to ingratiate himself in the favour of the Bourbons."

The above passage contains a falsehood in almost every line. M. Hue wished to reside in Hamburg, but he did not wish to conceal himself. I cheerfully permitted him to remain there, in spite of contrary and very strict orders, which I had received, and with which I made M. Hue acquainted. I invited him to visit me, and assured him that he might remain in Hamburg without apprehension, provided he acted prudently. He wished to go to Holland, and I took upon myself to give him a passport. I left M. Hue in the free management of his business, the nature of which I knew very well, and which was very honourable; he was deputed to pay the pensions which Louis XVIII. granted to the emigrants. As for myself, I had tendered my resignation of private secretary to Bonaparte: and even admitting I was in disgrace in that character, I was not so as minister and consul-general at Hamburg. My situation, which was of little consequence at the time I was appointed to it, was rendered exceedingly important by later circumstances. It was, in fact, a sort of watch-tower of the government, whence all the movements of northern Germany were observed: and during my residence in the Hanse Towns, I continually experienced the truth of what Bonaparte said to me at my farewell audience:—"Yours is a place independent and apart."

It is absurd to say that the kindness I showed to M. Hue was an attempt to ingratiate myself with the Bourbons. My attentions to him were dictated solely by humanity, unaccom-

panied by any afterthought. Napoleon had given me his confidence, and by mitigating the severity of his orders, I served him better than they who executed them in a way which could not fail to render the French government odious. If I am accused of extending every possible indulgence to the unfortunate emigrants, I plead guilty; and, far from wishing to defend myself against the charge, I consider it honourable to me. But I defy any one of them to say that I betrayed in their favour the interests with which I was intrusted. They who urged Bonaparte to usurp the crown of France, served, though perhaps unconsciously, the cause of the Bourbons. I, on the contrary, used all my endeavours to dissuade him from that measure, which I clearly saw must, in the end, lead to the restoration, though I do not pretend that I was sufficiently clear-sighted to guess that Napoleon's fall was so near at hand. The kindness I showed to M. Hue and his companions in misfortune, was prompted by humanity, and not by mean speculation. As well might it be said that Bernadotte, who, like myself, neglected no opportunity of softening the rigour of the orders he was deputed to execute, was, by this means, working his way to the throne of Sweden.

Bernadotte had proceeded to Denmark, to take the command of the Spanish and French troops who had been removed from the Hanse Towns to occupy that kingdom, which was then threatened by the English. His departure was a great loss to me, for we had always agreed respecting the measures to be adopted, and I felt his absence the more sensibly when I was enabled to make a comparison between him and his successor. It is painful to me to detail the misconduct of those who injured the French name in Germany, but, in fulfilment of the task I have undertaken, I am bound to tell the truth.

In April, 1808, General Dupas came to take the command of Hamburg; but only under the orders of Bernadotte, who retained the supreme command of the French troops in the Hanse Towns. By the appointment of General Dupas, the emperor cruelly thwarted the wishes and hopes of the inhabitants of Lower Saxony. That general said of the people of Hamburg, "As long as I see those . . . driving in their carriages, I can have money from them." It is, however, only just to add, that his dreadful exactions were not made on his own account, but for the benefit of another man to whom he owed his all, and to whom he had in some measure devoted his existence. It was for *that* man he became the blood-sucker of the Hanse Towns.

I will state some particulars respecting the way in which the generals who commanded the French troops at Hamburg were maintained. The senate of Hamburg granted to the marshals thirty *friederichs* per day for the expenses of their table exclusive of the hotel in which they were lodged by the city. The generals of division had only twenty *friederichs*. General

Dupas wished to be provided for on the same footing as the marshals. The senate having, with reason, rejected this demand, Dupas required that he should be daily served with a breakfast and a dinner of thirty covers. This was an inconceivable burden, and Dupas cost the city more than any of his predecessors.

I saw an account of his expenses, which, during the twenty-one weeks he remained at Hamburg, amounted to 122,000 marks, or about 183,000 francs. None but the most exquisite wines were drunk at the table of Dupas. Even his servants were treated with champagne, and the choicest fruits were brought from the fine hothouses of Berlin. The inhabitants were irritated at this extravagance, and Dupas accordingly experienced the resistance of the senate. Among other vexations there was one to which the people could not readily submit. In Hamburg, which had formerly been a fortified town, the custom was preserved of closing the gates at nightfall. On Sundays they were closed three-quarters of an hour later, to avoid interrupting the amusements of the people. While General Dupas was governor of Hamburg, an event occurred which occasioned considerable irritation in the public mind, and might have been attended by fatal consequences. From some whim or other, the general ordered the gates to be closed at seven in the evening, and consequently while it was broad daylight, for it was in the middle of spring; no exception was made in favour of Sunday; and on that day a great number of the inhabitants, who had been walking in the outskirts of the city, presented themselves at the gate of Altona for admittance. To their surprise they found the gate closed, though it was a greater thoroughfare than any other gate in Hamburg. The number of persons requiring admittance increased, and a considerable crowd soon collected. After useless entreaties had been addressed to the chief officer of the post, the people were determined to send to the commandant for the keys. The commandant arrived, accompanied by the general. When they appeared, it was supposed they had come for the purpose of opening the gates, and they were accordingly saluted with a general *hurrah!* which throughout almost all the north is the usual cry for expressing popular satisfaction. General Dupas not understanding the meaning of this *hurrah!* supposed it to be a signal for sedition; and instead of ordering the gates to be opened, he commanded the military to fire upon the peaceful citizens, who only wanted to return to their homes. Several persons were killed, and others more or less seriously wounded. Fortunately, after this first discharge the fury of Dupas was appeased; but still he persisted in keeping the gates closed at night. Next day, an order was posted about the city, prohibiting the cry of *hurrah!* under pain of a severe punishment. It was also forbidden, that more than three persons should collect

together in the streets. Thus it was, that certain persons imposed the French yoke upon towns and provinces which were previously happy. Dupas was as much execrated in the Hanse Towns as Clarke had been in Berlin, when he was governor of that capital during the campaign of 1807. Clarke had burdened the people of Berlin with every kind of oppression and exaction. He, as well as many others, manifested a ready obedience in executing the imperial orders, however tyrannical they might be; and Heaven knows what epithets invariably accompanied the name of Clarke, when pronounced by the lips of a Prussian!

Dupas seemed to have taken Clarke as his model. An artillery officer, who was in Hamburg at the time of the disturbance I have just mentioned, told me that it was he who was directed to place two pieces of light artillery before the gate of Altona. Having executed this order, he went to General Dupas, whom he found in a furious fit of passion, breaking and destroying every thing within his reach. In the presence of the officer he broke more than two dozen plates which were on the table before him: these plates, of course, had cost him very little.

On the day after the disturbance which had so fatal a termination, I wrote to inform the Prince of Ponte-Corvo of what had taken place; and in my letter I solicited the suppression of an extraordinary tribunal which had been created by General Dupas. He returned me an immediate answer, complying with my request. His letter was as follows:

I have received your letter, my dear minister: it forcibly conveys the expression of your right feeling, which revolts against oppression, severity, and the abuse of power. I entirely concur in your view of the subject, and I am distressed whenever I see such acts of injustice committed. On an examination of the events which took place on the 9th, it is impossible to deny that the officer who ordered the gates to be closed so soon was in the wrong; and next, it may be asked, why were not the gates opened instead of the military being ordered to fire on the people? But, on the other hand, did not the people evince decided obstinacy and insubordination? Were they not to blame in throwing stones at the guard, forcing the palisades, and even refusing to listen to the voice of the magistrates? It is melancholy that they should have fallen into these excesses, from which, doubtless, they would have refrained, had they listened to the civil chiefs, who ought to be their first sentinels. Finally, my dear minister, the senator who distributed money at the gate of Altona to appease the multitude, would have done better had he advised them to wait patiently until the gates were opened; and he might, I think, have gone to the commandant or the general, to solicit that concession.

Whenever an irritated mob resorts to violence, there is no safety for any one. The protecting power must then exert its utmost authority to stop mischief. The senate of ancient Rome, so jealous of its prerogatives, assigned to a dictator, in times of trouble, the power of

life and death, and that magistrate knew no other code than his own will and the axe of his lictors. The ordinary laws did not resume their course until the people returned to submission.

The event which took place in Hamburg produced a feeling of agitation, of which evil-disposed persons might take advantage to stir up open insurrection. That feeling could only be repressed by a severe tribunal, which, however, is no longer necessary. General Dupas has, accordingly, received orders to dissolve it, and justice will resume her usual course.

J. BERNADOTTE.

Densel, May 4, 1808.

When Bernadotte returned to Hamburg he sent Dupas to Lubeck. That city, which was poorer than Hamburg, suffered cruelly from the visitation of such a guest. Dupas levied all his exactions in kind, and indignantly spurned every offer of accepting money, the very idea of which, he said, shocked his delicacy of feeling. But his demands became so extravagant, that the city of Lubeck was utterly unable to satisfy them. Besides his table, which was provided in the same style of profusion as at Hamburg, he required to be furnished with plate, linen, wood, and candles; in short, with the most trivial articles of household consumption.

The senate deputed to the incorruptible General Dupas M. Nolting, a venerable old man, who mildly represented to him the abuses which were every where committed in his name, and entreated that he would vouchsafe to accept twenty louis per day to defray the expenses of his table alone. At this proposition General Dupas flew into a rage. To offer him money was an insult not to be endured!—He furiously drove the terrified senator out of the house, and the next minute ordered his aide-de-camp Barral to imprison him. M. de Barral, startled at this extraordinary order, ventured to remonstrate with the general, but in vain; and, though against his heart, he was obliged to obey. The aide-de-camp accordingly waited upon the senator, Nolting, and, overcome by that feeling of respect which gray hairs involuntarily inspire in youth, instead of arresting him, he besought the old man not to leave his house until he should prevail on the general to retract his orders. It was not till the following day that M. de Barral succeeded in getting these orders revoked—that is to say, he obtained M. Nolting's release from prison; for Dupas would not be satisfied until he heard that the senator had suffered at least the commencement of the punishment to which his capricious fury had doomed him.

In spite of his parade of disinterestedness, General Dupas yielded so far as to accept the twenty louis a day for the expense of his table, which M. Nolting had offered him, on the part of the senate of Lubeck; but it was not without murmurings, complaints, and menaces, that he made this generous con-

cession; and he exclaimed more than once, "These *fellows* have portioned out my allowance for me."* Lubeck was not released from the presence of General Dupas until the month of March, 1809, when he was summoned to command a division in the emperor's new campaign against Austria. Strange as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, the fact, that oppressive as had been his presence at Lubeck, the Hanse Towns soon had reason to regret him.

The year 1808 was fertile in remarkable events. Occupied as I was with my own duties, I yet amused my leisure hours in observing the course of those great acts by which Bonaparte seemed determined to mark every day of his life. At the commencement of 1808, I received one of the first copies of the Code of Commerce, promulgated on the 1st of January by the emperor's order. This code appeared to me an act of derision; at least it was extraordinary to publish a code respecting a subject which it was the effect of all the imperial decrees to destroy. What trade could possibly exist under the continental system, and the ruinous severity of the customs? The line was already extended widely enough, when, by a *senatus consultum*, it was still further widened. The emperor, to whom all the continent submitted, had recourse to no other formality for the purpose of annexing to the empire the towns of Kehl, Cassel near Mentz, Wessel, and Flushing, with the territories depending on them. These conquests, gained by decrees and senatorial decisions, had at least the advantage of being effected without bloodshed. All these things were carefully communicated to me by the ministers, with whom I corresponded; for my situation at Hamburg had acquired such importance, that it was necessary I should know every thing.

At this period, I observed among the news which I received from different places, a singular coincidence of dates, worthy of being noted by the authors of Ephemerides. On the same day, namely, the 1st of February, Paris, Lisbon, and Rome, were the scenes of events of different kinds, but, as they all happened on one day, afford a striking example of the rapidity of movement which marked the reign of Bonaparte. At Paris, the niece of Josephine, Mademoiselle de Tascher,† whom Napoleon

* This is another of the many coarse passages that cannot be literally translated. Verily we may say, what manner of men were those capable of such language?—*Editor*.

† Mademoiselle d'Avrillion, when she first entered the service of Josephine, was placed about the person of Mademoiselle Tascher; and in her Memoirs she draws rather an interesting character of the young and handsome creole, who was singularly attached to her aunt, then only Madame Bonaparte, wife of the first consul. "Every body," says the sensible *femme-de-chambre*, "was satisfied with this marriage except the bride herself, whose taste was the first that ought to have been consulted. Mademoiselle de Tascher assented to the union

had lately exalted to the rank of princess, was married to the reigning Prince of Ahremberg, while, at the same time, Junot declared to Portugal that the house of Braganza had *ceased to reign*,* and French troops were, under the command of General Miollis, occupying Rome. This occupation was the commencement of prolonged struggles, during which Pius VII. expiated the condescension he had shown in going to Paris to crown Napoleon.

My correspondence, relative to what passed in the south of France and of Europe, presented to me, if I may so express myself, merely an anecdotal interest. Not so the news which came from the north. At Hamburg I was like the sentinel of an advanced post, always on the alert. I frequently informed the government of what would take place before the event actually happened; I was one of the first to hear of the plans of Russia relative to Sweden. The courier whom I sent to Paris arrived there at the very moment when Russia made the declaration of war. About the end of February, the Russian troops entered Swedish Finland, and occupied also the capital of that province, which had, at all times, been coveted by the Russian government. It has been said, that at the interview at Erfurth, Bonaparte consented to the usurpation of that province by Alexander, in return for the complaisance of the latter in acknowledging Joseph as King of Spain and the Indies.

The removal of Joseph from the throne of Naples to the throne of Madrid, belongs, indeed, to that period respecting which I am now throwing together a few recollections. Murat had succeeded Joseph at Naples, and that accession of the brother-in-law of Napoleon to one of the thrones of the house of Bourbon, gave Bonaparte another junior in the college of kings, of which he would have infallibly become the senior, if he had gone on as he began.

I will relate a little circumstance which now occurs to me respecting the kings manufactured by Napoleon. I recollect that during the King of Etruria's stay in Paris, the first consul went with that prince to the Comédie Française, where Voltaire's *Œdipus* was performed. This piece, I may observe, Bonaparte liked better than any thing Voltaire ever wrote. I was in the theatre, but not in the first consul's box, and I observed, as all present must have done, the eagerness with which the audience

with the greatest repugnance: she had a thorough antipathy for the Prince d'Ahremberg, and she never could overcome it, *but she never could have dared to resist the will and command of Napoleon.*" The marriage was a wretched one: it ended in a divorce, after which Madame d'Ahremberg married the Count de Guitry.—*Editor.*

* This was a pet expression of Bonaparte's. In the same way he said, in 1806, when he made his brother Joseph King of Naples, "the Bourbons of Naples have ceased to reign."—*Editor.*

applied to Napoleon and the King of Etruria the line in which Philoctetes says—

*J'ai fait des souverains et n'ai pas voulu l'être.**

The application was so marked, that it could not fail to become the subject of conversation between the first consul and me. "You remarked it, Bourrienne?" "Yes, general." "The fools! They shall see! They shall see!" —We did indeed see; not content with making kings, Bonaparte, when his brow was encircled by a double crown, after creating princes, at length realized the object he had long contemplated; namely, to found a new nobility, endowed with hereditary rights. It was at the commencement of March, 1808, that he accomplished this project: and I saw in the *Moniteur* a long list of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights, of the empire: there were wanting only viscounts and marquises.

At the same time that Bonaparte was founding a new nobility, he determined to raise up the old edifice of the university, but on a new foundation. The education of youth had always been one of his ruling ideas, and I had an opportunity of observing how he was changed by the exercise of sovereign power, when I received at Hamburg the statutes of the new elder daughter of the Emperor of the French, and compared them with the ideas which Bonaparte, when general and first consul, had often expressed to me respecting the education which ought to be given youth. Though the sworn enemy of every thing like liberty, Bonaparte had at first conceived a vast system of education, comprising above all the study of history, and those positive sciences, such as geology and astronomy, which give the utmost degree of development to the human mind. The sovereign, however, shrunk from the first ideas of the man of genius, and his university, confided to the elegant subserviency of M. de Fontaines, was merely a school, capable of producing educated subjects, but not enlightened men.

Before taking complete possession of Rome, and making it the second city of the empire, the vaunted moderation of Bonaparte was confined to dismembering from it the legations of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino, which were divided into three departments, and added to the kingdom of Italy. The patience of the holy see could no longer hold out against this act of violence, and Cardinal Caprara, who had remained in Paris since the coronation, at last left that capital. Shortly afterwards, the grand duchies of Parma and Piacenza were united to the French empire, and annexed to the government of the departments beyond the Alps. These transactions were coincident with the events in Spain and Bayonne before mentioned.

* I have made sovereigns, but have never wished to be one myself.—*Editor.*

After the snare laid at Bayonne, the emperor entered Paris on the 14th of August, the eve of his birthday. Scarcely had he arrived in the capital, when he experienced fresh anxiety in consequence of the conduct of Russia, which, as I have stated, had declared open war with Sweden, and did not conceal the intention of seizing Finland. But Bonaparte, desirous of actively carrying on the war in Spain, felt the necessity of removing his troops from Prussia to the Pyrenees. He then hastened the interview at Erfurt, where the two emperors of France and Russia had agreed to meet. He hoped that this interview would ensure the tranquillity of the continent, while he should complete the subjection of Spain to the sceptre of Joseph. That prince had been proclaimed on the 8th of June; and on the 21st of the same month, he made his entry into Madrid, but having received, ten days after, information of the disaster at Baylen, he was obliged to leave the Spanish capital.*

Bonaparte's wishes must at this time have been limited to the tranquillity of the continent; for the struggle between him and England was more desperate than ever. England had just sent troops to Portugal, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. There was no longer any hope of a reconciliation with Great Britain. The interview at Erfurt, having been determined on, the emperor, who had returned from Bayonne to Paris, again left the capital about the end of September, and arrived at Metz without stopping, except for the purpose of reviewing the regiments which were echeloned on his route, and which were on their march from the grand army to Spain.

I had heard some time previously of the interview which was about to take place, and which was so memorable in the life of Napoleon. It excited so much interest in Germany, that the roads were covered with the equipages of the princes, who were going to Erfurt to witness the meeting. The French emperor arrived there before Alexander, and went forward three leagues to meet him. Napoleon was on horseback, Alexander in a carriage. They embraced, it is said, in a manner expressive of the most cordial friendship.† This interview was witnessed by most of the sovereign princes of Germany. However, neither the King of Prussia nor the Emperor of Austria were present. The latter sovereign sent a letter to Napoleon, of which I obtained a copy. It was as follows:

SIRE MY BROTHER,

My ambassador in Paris informs me, that your majesty is about to proceed to Erfurt to meet the Emperor Alexander. I eagerly seize

* The decisive battle of Baylen, where the French, under General Dupont, were thoroughly beaten by the Spaniards, was fought on the 20th of July, 1808.
—Editor.

† Savary, who accompanied Napoleon to Erfurt, gives an account of the imperial interview. The reader will find it subjoined to the present chapter.

the opportunity of your approach to my frontier, to renew those testimonials of friendship and esteem which I have pledged to you ; and I send my lieutenant-general, Baron Vincent,* to convey to you the assurance of my unalterable sentiments. If the false accounts that have been circulated respecting the internal institutions which I have established in my monarchy should for a moment have excited your majesty's doubts as to my intentions, I flatter myself, that the explanations given on that subject by Count Metternich to your minister will have entirely removed them. Baron Vincent is enabled to confirm to your majesty all that has been said by Count Metternich on the subject, and to add any further explanations you may wish for. I beg that your majesty will grant him the same gracious reception he experienced at Paris and at Warsaw. The renewed marks of favour you may bestow on him will be an unequivocal pledge of the reciprocity of your sentiments, and will seal that confidence which will render our satisfaction mutual.

Deign to accept the assurance of the unalterable affection and respect, with which I am, Sire, my brother,

Your imperial and royal majesty's
faithful brother and friend,

FRANCIS.

Presburg, Sept. 18, 1808.

This letter appears to be a model of ambiguity, by which it is impossible Napoleon could have been imposed upon. However, as yet he had no suspicion of the hostility of Austria, which speedily became manifest ; his grand object then was the Spanish business, and as I have before observed, one of the secrets of Napoleon's genius was, that he did not apply himself to more than one thing at a time.

At Erfurt Bonaparte attained the principal object he had promised himself by the meeting. Alexander recognised Joseph in his new character of King of Spain and the Indies. It has been said, that as the price of this recognition, Napoleon consented that Alexander should have Swedish Finland : but for the truth of this I cannot vouch. However, I remember that when, after the interview at Erfurt, Alexander had given orders to his ambassador to Charles IV. to continue his functions under King Joseph, the Swedish chargé-d'affaires at Hamburg told me, that confidential letters received by him from Erfurt led him to fear that the emperor Alexander had communicated to Napoleon his designs on Finland, and that Napoleon had given his consent to the occupation. Be this as it may, as soon as the interview was over, Napoleon returned to Paris, where he presided, with much splendour, at the opening of the legislative body, and set out, in the month of November, for Spain.

* According to Carlo Botta, the Emperor of Austria sent his general St. Vincent to the meeting of Erfurt, to caress Bonaparte (*per accarezzarlo*).—*Storia d'Italia.* (Editor.)

THE INTERVIEW AT ERFURT.

"The whole of the month of September, 1808, was spent in settling the day for the departure of the respective sovereigns from St. Petersburg and Paris, so that each might regulate his journey, so as to arrive neither too soon nor too late.

"The Emperor Napoleon appointed the guards, provided the quarters, and defrayed the expenses of the tables, &c., not only for the Emperor of Russia, but also for the other sovereigns who attended the interview. Accordingly, a troop of cooks, stewards, and lackeys, were sent from the department of the grand marshal.

"The company of the Théâtre Française also proceeded to Erfurt, for the purpose of performing our best tragedies and comedies. Finally, nothing, however trifling, was neglected that could contribute to the amusement of the sovereigns during their stay at Erfurt.

"The emperor left Paris at the end of September or beginning of October. He went straight to Metz, and on his way he inspected all the corps which were returning from the grand army to proceed to Spain. He stopped them on the road, and after examining them man by man, ordered them to continue their march. In this manner he proceeded to Frankfort.

"The force which he had ordered to Spain was very considerable; for of all the vast army which was in Germany, he left behind only four divisions of infantry, with the cuirassiers, and a few regiments of light troops, that is to say, one-fourth of what there had previously been.

"The news of the interview at Erfurt excited great interest in Germany, and people thronged into the town from all parts. At the residence of the prince primate at Frankfort, a vast number of German princes had assembled to pay their respects to the emperor as he passed through the city. He slept at the residence of the prince primate; and among the company present were the Princes and Princesses of Baden, Darmstadt, and Nassau. They treated the emperor with all the honour due to the protector of the confederation of the Rhine; and they seemed to vie with each other in showing testimonials of their respect and submission.

"The emperor left Frankfort next day, and proceeded straight to Erfurt. On his way he met the King of Westphalia, who had come from Cassel to the frontiers of his states to receive him. M. de Caulaincourt, the French ambassador in Russia, also came to meet the emperor, and he joined us between Erfurt and Gotha. He informed us that the Emperor of Russia was waiting at Weimar for the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon at Erfurt. We accordingly proceeded onward speedily, and arrived at Erfurt very early in the morning. Some troops had been brought into the town, and the first regiment of hussars was stationed in several detachments between Erfurt and Weimar, to render military honours to the Emperor Alexander.

"In conformity with arrangements which had no doubt been made beforehand, the emperor mounted on horseback, together with all who accompanied him. His retinue was followed by a horse for the

Emperor of Russia; and the saddle which he was in the habit of using was even sent for from Weimar. It had been brought from St. Petersburg expressly for this occasion.

"The emperor had advanced about three leagues from Erfurt when we descried the retinue of the Emperor Alexander, whose carriage was followed by twelve or fifteen calashes. The Emperor Napoleon set off at full gallop, and alighted to embrace the Emperor of Russia when he got out of his carriage. The meeting was as amicable and cordial as the sentiments which the sovereigns mutually cherished towards each other. They both mounted their horses, and proceeded conversing together to Erfurt. The road was lined with the whole population of the surrounding country. The weather was delicious, and seemed to smile auspiciously on the event. The sovereigns were saluted by the artillery from the ramparts; the troops formed a double line, and all the persons of distinction who had come to Erfurt on this occasion, were assembled at the residence which had been prepared for the Emperor Alexander, at the moment when he alighted from his horse accompanied by the Emperor Napoleon.

"The two sovereigns dined together that day, in company with the Grand Duke Constantine, who was with his brother. The grand marshal had stationed a man in the street to watch and give information when the Emperor of Russia's carriage appeared in sight; and whenever Alexander visited the Emperor Napoleon, the latter always stood at the foot of the staircase to receive his guest. The same ceremony was observed when the Emperor Napoleon visited the Emperor of Russia. While they remained at Erfurt they always dined together, except on those days when they had private business to transact at their respective residences. Soon after the arrival of the two emperors at Erfurt, they were followed by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Westphalia, the Prince Primate, the Princes of Anhalt, Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, and all who conceived it to be their duty to render homage to such an assemblage of power.

"The King of Prussia did not come. He was represented by his brother, Prince William, who, during a whole winter in Paris, had endured the most painful situation in which a prince of his rank can possibly be placed, and whose conduct, under these trying circumstances, excited public interest and respect. He represented Prussia during the winter which followed the treaty of Tilsit.

"The Emperor of Austria was not present at the interview. The measures which he had taken, the levies and requisitions of every kind which he imposed on his states, had excited the remonstrances of France. His preparations were not finished. Protestations cost him little, and he resolved to make another attempt to deceive Napoleon. He sent General Vincent, who he knew was agreeable to the emperor, to deliver to him a letter in which he sought to remove the doubts which had arisen respecting the constancy of his sentiments.

"The hereditary princes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz, were also at Erfurt.

"The Emperor Napoleon had brought with him M. de Champagny, the minister for foreign affairs. He had, besides, M. de Talleyrand, and, as usual, M. Maret, and the Prince de Neufchatel.

“General Oudinot had been sent as governor to Erfurt, and Marshal Soult, whose corps was proceeding to Spain, remained at Erfurt all the time the emperor staid there. His troops marched on before him, and he rejoined them at Bayonne.

“Several German princesses were also at Erfurt. Among them the Princess of Baden, together with some from the different surrounding countries, the Princess of Tour and Taxis, and the Princess of Wirtemberg, born Coburg, &c. The mornings were invariably spent in visiting. Large dinner-parties were formed, and dramatic representations were given in the evening. As the Emperor of Russia was known to be rather deaf, the company was arranged so that all the sovereigns sat near the orchestra. I recollect that, during the performance of *Œdipus*, when the following passage occurred: ‘The friendship of a great man is a blessing of Heaven,’ Alexander turned towards the Emperor Napoleon with the intention of applying the line to him. A murmur of approbation, which ran through the company, showed that the force and justice of the application was felt. In this agreeable manner time slipped away almost imperceptibly at Erfurt.”—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

CHAPTER IX.

1808.

The Spanish troops in Hamburg—Romana's siesta—His departure for Funen—Celebration of Napoleon's birthday—Romana's defection—English agents and the Dutch troops—Facility of communication between England and the continent—Delay of couriers from Russia—Alarm and complaints—The people of Hamburg—Montesquieu and the minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany—Invitations at six months—Napoleon's journey to Italy—Adoption of Eugène—Lucien's daughter and the Prince of the Asturias—M. Auguste de Stael's interview with Napoleon.

PREVIOUS to the interview at Erfurt, an event took place which created a strong interest in Hamburg, and throughout Europe; an event which was planned and executed with inconceivable secrecy. I allude to the defection of the Marquis de la Romana, which I have not hitherto noticed, in order that I might not separate the different facts which came to my knowledge respecting that defection, and the circumstances which accompanied it.

The Marquis de la Romana had come to the Hanse Towns at the head of an army corps of eighteen thousand men, which the emperor, in the preceding campaign, claimed in virtue of treaties previously concluded with the Spanish government. The Spanish troops at first met with a good reception in the Hanse Towns. The difference of language, indeed, occasionally caused

discord; but, when better acquainted, the inhabitants and their visitors became good friends. The Marquis de la Romana was a little swarthy man, of unprepossessing, and rather common appearance; but he had a considerable share of talent and information. He had travelled in almost every part of Europe, and as he had been a close observer of all he saw, his conversation was exceedingly agreeable and instructive.

During his stay at Hamburg, General Romana spent almost every evening at my house, and invariably fell asleep over a game at whist. Madame de Bourrienne was usually his partner, and I recollect he perpetually offered apologies for his involuntary breach of good manners. This, however, did not hinder him from being guilty of the same offence next evening. I will presently explain the cause of this regular siesta.

On the King of Spain's birthday, the Marquis de la Romana gave a magnificent entertainment. The decorations of the ball-room consisted of military attributes. The marquis did the honours with infinite grace, and paid particular attention to the French generals. He always spoke of the emperor in very respectful terms, without any appearance of affectation, so that it was impossible to suspect him of harbouring a bad design. He played his part to the last with the utmost address. At Hamburg we had already received intelligence of the fatal result of the battle of the Sierra Morena, and of the capitulation of Dupont, which disgraced him at the very moment when the whole army marked him out as the man most likely to receive the baton of Marshal of France.

Meanwhile, the Marquis de la Romana departed for the Danish island of Funen, in compliance with the order which Marshal Bernadotte had transmitted to him. There, as at Hamburg, the Spaniards were well liked, for their general obliged them to observe the strictest discipline. Great preparations were made in Hamburg on the approach of Saint Napoleon's day, which was then celebrated with much solemnity in every town in which France had representatives. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo was at Travemunde, a small seaport near Lubeck; but that did not prevent him from giving directions for the festival of the 15th of August. The Marquis de la Romana, the better to deceive the marshal, despatched a courier, requesting permission to visit Hamburg on the day of the fête, in order to join his prayers to those of the French, and to receive, on the day of the fête, from the hands of the prince, the grand order of the Legion of Honour, which he had solicited, and which Napoleon had granted him. Three days after, Bernadotte received intelligence of the defection of de la Romana.—The marquis had contrived to assemble a great number of English vessels on the coast, and to escape with all his troops, except a depot of six hundred men left at Altona. We afterwards heard that he experienced no interruption on his passage, and

that he landed with his troops at Corunna. I now knew to what to attribute the drowsiness which always overcame the Marquis de la Romana when he sat down to take a hand at whist. The fact was, he sat up all night making preparations for the escape which he had long meditated; while, to lull suspicion, he showed himself every where during the day, as usual.*

On the defection of the Spanish troops, I received letters from government requiring me to augment my vigilance, and to seek out those persons who might be supposed to have been in the confidence of the Marquis de la Romana. I was informed that English agents, dispersed through the Hanse Towns, were endeavouring to foment discord and dissatisfaction among the King of Holland's troops. These manœuvres were connected with the treason of the Spaniards, and the arrival of Danican in Denmark. Insubordination had already broken out, but it was promptly repressed. Two Dutch soldiers were shot for striking their officers, but notwithstanding this severity, desertion among the troops increased to an alarming degree. Indefatigable agents, in the pay of the English government, laboured incessantly to seduce the soldiers of King Louis from their duty. Some of these agents being denounced to me, were taken almost in the fact, and positive proof being adduced of their guilt, they were condemned to death.

These indispensable examples of severity did not check the

* The Marquis of Londonderry's "Narrative of the Peninsular War," contains the following particulars relative to Romana's defection:

"Whilst the naval and military commanders in the Mediterranean were exerting themselves, an effort was made in the north, and made with the most complete success, to restore to the service of his country one of the ablest officers of which Spain could at that time boast. One of Bonaparte's first measures, when meditating the subjugation of the Peninsula, was to demand from Spain a corps of sixteen thousand veteran troops, whom, under the Marquis de la Romana, he employed for a time upon the banks of the Vistula, and afterwards removed to the shores of the Great Belt. They were distributed at different points in that district, when the standard of independence was raised; and one of the earliest measures of the supreme junta was to issue a proclamation, calling upon them, in the name of their country, to return to its defence. This was necessarily consigned to the care of the British cruisers; and it was not given to them in vain. A scheme for its delivery, as well as for the removal of the soldiers, should they, as it was believed they would, desire to comply with its terms, was immediately devised at London; and the execution of it was committed to Vice-Admiral Keats, an officer well worthy of the trust. It succeeded to admiration; and seven thousand men, with Romana at their head, were transferred from the ranks of the enemy, at a moment of peculiar interest, to those of the patriotic army."—Shut up at Funen in the Baltic, the Spaniards for some time could obtain no information from their own distant country. The first offices of Europe were in the hands of Napoleon—his spies were in the camp of Romana; but nevertheless a bold and skilful agent, a catholic priest, of Scotch extraction, named Robertson, succeeded in getting ashore at Funen in disguise, and in opening communications between the Spanish general and the British Admiral Keats. The combinations then resorted to by Romana to extricate his troops, are entitled to our high admiration.—*Editor.*

manœuvres of England, though they served to cool the zeal of her agents. I used every endeavour to second the Prince of Ponte-Corvo in tracing out the persons employed by England. It was chiefly from the small island of Heligoland that they found their way to the continent. This communication was facilitated by the numerous vessels scattered about the small islands which lie along that coast. Five or six pieces of gold defrayed the expense of the passage to or from Heligoland. Thus the Spanish news, which was printed and often fabricated at London, was profusely circulated in the north of Germany. Packets of papers, addressed to merchants and well-known persons in the German towns, were put into the post-offices of Embden, Knipphausen, Varel, Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, and Bremen. Generally speaking, this part of the coast was not sufficiently well watched to prevent espionage and smuggling; with regard to smuggling, indeed, no power could have entirely prevented it. The continental system had made it a necessity, so that a great part of the population depended on it for subsistence.

In the beginning of December, 1808, we remarked that the Russian courier, who passed through Königsberg and Berlin, was regularly detained four, five, and even six hours, on his way to Hamburg. The trading portion of the population, always suspicious, became alarmed at this change in the courier's hours, into which they inquired, and soon discovered the cause. It was ascertained that two agents had been stationed, by the postmaster of the grand duchy of Berg at Hamburg, in a village called Eschburg, belonging to the province of Lauenburg. There the courier from Berlin was stopped, and his packets and letters opened. As soon as these facts were known in Hamburg, there was a general consternation among the trading class—that is to say, the whole population of the city. The intelligence soon reached the ears of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, and was confirmed by the official report of the commissioner for the imperial and royal post-office, who complained of the delay of the courier, of the confusion of the packets, and of want of confidence in the imperial post-office. This examination of the letters, sometimes, perhaps, necessary, but often dangerous, and always extremely delicate, created additional alarm, on account of the persons to whom the business was intrusted. If the emperor wished to be made acquainted with the correspondence of certain persons in the north, it would have been natural to intrust the business to his agents and his commissioner at Hamburg, and not to two unknown individuals—another inconvenience attending *black cabinets*. At my suggestion, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo gave orders for putting a stop to the clandestine business at Eschburg.

But for the pain of witnessing vexations of this sort, which I had not always power to prevent, especially after Bernadotte's

removal, my residence at Hamburg would have been delightful. Those who have visited that town know the advantages it possesses from its charming situation on the Elbe, and above all, the delightful country which surrounds it like a garden, and extends to the distance of more than a league along the banks of the Eyder. The manners and customs of the inhabitants bear the stamp of peculiarity; they are fond of pursuing their occupations in the open air. The old men are often seen sitting round tables placed before their doors sipping tea, while the children play before them, and the young people are at their work. These groups have a very picturesque effect, and convey a gratifying idea of the happiness of the people. On seeing the worthy citizens of Hamburg assembled round their doors, I could not help thinking of a beautiful remark of Montesquieu. When he went to Florence with a letter of recommendation to the prime minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he found him sitting at the threshold of his door, inhaling the fresh air, and conversing with some friends.—“I see,” said Montesquieu, “that I am arrived among a happy people, since their prime minister can enjoy his leisure moments thus.”—A sort of patriarchal simplicity characterizes the manners of the inhabitants of Hamburg: they do not visit each other much, and only by invitation; but on such occasions they display great luxury beneath their simple exterior. They are methodical and punctual to an extraordinary degree. Of this I recollect a curious instance: I was very intimate with Baron Woght, a man of talent and information, and exceedingly amiable manners. One day he called to make us a farewell visit, as he intended to set out on the following day for Paris. On Madame de Bourrienne expressing a hope that he would not protract his absence beyond six months, the period he had fixed upon, he replied, “Be assured, madame, nothing shall prevent me getting home on the day I have appointed, for I have invited a party of friends to dine with me on the day after my return.” The baron returned at the appointed time, and none of his guests required to be reminded of his invitation at six months’ date.*

Napoleon so well knew the effect which his presence pro-

* Among the peculiarities of the late Lord Guildford, was this: he would invite friends to dine with him at London six or eight months after the date of the invitation; he would then start for the Ionian islands, where he was organizing a university for the Greeks—stay there for months, and then, getting over to Otranto or Brindisi, he would travel back through Italy, Switzerland, and France, to meet his dinner party in London. He generally so *timed* matters as to reach his home only a few hours before the dinner was to be on table. In all this, no doubt there was considerable calculation, and some affectation, but it amused his lordship, and did no harm to any one. He refused an invitation to prolong his stay for a day or two in the city of Lecce, at the extremity of the Italian peninsula, because he had a party fixed for such a day in London, and must travel on, in order to be punctual to the hour! This oddity certainly made the Italian gentry stare with astonishment.—*Editor.*

duced, that after a conquest, he loved to show himself to the people whose territories he added to the empire. Duroc, who always accompanied him when he was not engaged on missions, gave me a curious account of Napoleon's journey in 1807 to Venice, and the other Italian provinces, which, conformably with the treaty of Presburg, were annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

In this journey to the kingdom of Italy, Napoleon had several important objects in view. He was planning great alliances; and he loaded Eugène with favours for the purpose of sounding him, and preparing him for his mother's divorce.

There can be no doubt that Bonaparte now seriously contemplated his divorce from Josephine. Had there been no other proof of this, I, who had learned to read Bonaparte's thoughts in his acts, saw a decided one in the decree of Milan, by which, in default of lawful male heirs, he adopted Eugène as his son and successor to the crown of Italy. Lucien proceeded to Mantua, on the invitation of his brother, and that interview was the last they had before the hundred days. In spite of his republican stoicism, Lucien did not very seriously object to have a Bourbon king for his son-in-law. He consented to give his daughter to the Prince of the Asturias; but the marriage did not take place. It was during this journey that Napoleon united Tuscany to the empire.

Bonaparte returned to Paris on the 1st of January, 1808. On his way, he stopped for a short time at Chambéry, where a young man had been waiting for him several days. This was Madame de Staël's son, who was then not more than seventeen years of age. M. Auguste de Staël lodged at the house of the postmaster of Chambéry, and as the emperor was expected in the course of the night, he gave orders that he should be called up on the arrival of the first courier. The couriers, who had been delayed on the road, did not arrive until six in the morning, and were almost immediately followed by the emperor himself, so that M. de Staël was awakened by the cries of *Vive l'empereur!* He had just time to dress himself hastily, and fly to meet Napoleon, to whom he delivered a letter, which he had prepared beforehand, for the purpose of soliciting an audience. Lauriston, the aide-de-camp on duty, took the letter, it being his business to receive all the letters and petitions which were presented to Napoleon on his way. Before breakfast, the emperor opened the letters which Lauriston had laid on the table; he merely looked at the signatures, and then laid them aside. On opening M. de Staël's letter, he said, "Ah! ah! what have we here? a letter from M. de Staël! . . . He wishes to see me. . . . What can he want? . . . Can there be any thing in common between me and the refugees of Geneva?"—"Sire," observed Lauriston, "he is a very young man; and, as well as I could judge from the little I saw of him, there is something

very prepossessing in his appearance.”—“A very young man, say you? . . . Oh, then I will see him. . . Rustan, tell him to come in.” M. de Staël presented himself to Napoleon with modesty, but without any unbecoming timidity. When he had respectfully saluted the emperor, a conversation ensued between them, which Duroc described to me in nearly the following manner:

As M. de Staël advanced towards the emperor, the latter said, “Whence do you come?”—“From Geneva, Sire.”—“Where is your mother?”—“She is either in Vienna, or will soon be there.”—“At Vienna!” . . . Well, that is where she ought to be; and I suppose she is happy. . . . She will now have a good opportunity of learning German.”—“Sire, how can you imagine my mother is happy when she is absent from her country and her friends? If I were permitted to lay before your majesty my mother’s confidential letter, you would see how unhappy she is in her exile.”—“Ah, bah! your mother unhappy, indeed! . . . However, I do not mean to say she is altogether bad. . . . She has talent—perhaps too much; and hers is an unbridled talent. She was educated amidst the chaos of the subverted monarchy and the revolution; and out of these events she makes an amalgamation of her own! All this is very dangerous. Her enthusiasm is likely to make proselytes. I must keep watch upon her. She does not like me; and for the interests of those whom she would endanger, I must prohibit her coming to Paris.”

Young de Staël stated, that his object in seeking the interview with the emperor, was to petition for his mother’s return to Paris. Napoleon having listened without impatience to the reasons he urged in support of his request, said, “But supposing I were to permit your mother to return to Paris, six months would not elapse before I should be obliged to send her to the Bicêtre, or to the Temple.* This I should be sorry to do; because the affair would make a noise, and injure me in public opinion. Tell your mother that my determination is formed, that my decision is irrevocable. She shall never set foot in Paris as long as I live.”—“Sire, I cannot believe that you would arbitrarily imprison my mother, if she gave you no reason for such severity.”—“She would give me fifty! . . . I know her well.”—“Sire, permit me to say, that I am certain my mother would live in Paris in a way that would afford no ground of reproach; she would live retired, and would see only a very few friends. In spite of your majesty’s refusal, I venture to entreat that you will give her a trial, were it only for six weeks, or a month. Permit her, Sire, to pass that time in Paris, and I conjure you to come to no final decision beforehand.”—“Do

* The reader cannot have got thus far in the Memoirs of Bonaparte, without knowing that these are the names of two of his state prisons at Paris.—*Editor.*

you think I am to be deceived by these fair promises? . . . I tell you it cannot be. She would enrol herself under the banner of the Faubourg St. Germain. She see nobody, indeed! Could she make that sacrifice? She would visit and receive company. She would be guilty of a thousand follies. She would be saying things which she may consider as very good jokes, but which I should take seriously.* My government is no joke: I wish this to be well known by every body.”—“Sire, will your majesty permit me to repeat, that my mother has no wish whatever to mingle in society. She would confine herself to the circle of a few friends, a list of whom she would give to your majesty. You, Sire, who love France so well, may form some idea of the misery my mother suffers in her banishment. I conjure your majesty to yield to my entreaties, and let us be included in the number of your faithful subjects.”—“You!”—“Yes, Sire; or if your majesty persist in your refusal, permit a son to inquire what can have raised your displeasure against his mother. Some say, that it was my grandfather’s last work; but I can assure your majesty, that my mother had nothing to do with that.”—“Yes, certainly,” added Napoleon, with more ill-humour than he had hitherto manifested. “Yes, certainly, that work is very objectionable. Your grandfather was an ideologist, a fool, an old maniac. At sixty years of age, to think of forming plans to overthrow my constitution! States would be well governed, truly, under such theorists, who judge of men from books, and the world from the map.”—“Sire, since my grandfather’s plans are, in your majesty’s eyes, nothing but vain theories, I cannot conceive why they should so highly excite your displeasure. There is no political economist, who has not traced out plans of constitutions.”—“Oh! as to political economists, they are mere visionaries, who are dreaming of plans of finance while they are unfit to fulfil the duties of a schoolmaster in the most insignificant village in the empire. Your grandfather’s work is that of an obstinate old man, who died abusing all governments.”—“Sire, may I presume to suppose, from the way in which you speak of it, that your majesty judges from the report of malignant persons, and that you have not yourself read it?”—“That is a mistake. I have read it myself, from beginning to end.”—“Then your majesty must have seen how my grandfather renders justice to your genius.”—“Fine justice, truly! . . . He calls me the indispensable man, but, judging from his arguments, the best thing that could be done would be to cut my throat! Yes, I was, indeed, indispensable to repair the follies of your grandfather, and the mischief he did to France. It was he who overturned the monarchy, and led Louis XVI. to the scaffold.”—“Sire, you seem to forget that

* For example, Madame’s joke of calling him a Robespierre on horseback.—*Editor.*

my grandfather's property was confiscated because he defended the king."—"Defended the king! A fine defence, truly! You might as well say, that if I give a man poison, and present him with an antidote when he is in the agonies of death, I wish to save him! Yet, that is the way your grandfather defended Louis XVI. . . . As to the confiscation you speak of, what does that prove? Nothing. Why, the property of Robespierre was confiscated! And let me tell you, that Robespierre himself, Marat, and Danton, did much less mischief to France than M. Necker. It was he who brought about the revolution. You, Monsieur de Staël, did not see this; but I did. I witnessed all that passed in those days of terror and public calamity. But, as long as I live, those days shall never return. Your speculators trace their Utopian schemes upon paper; fools read, and believe them. All are babbling about general happiness, and presently the people have not bread to eat: then comes a revolution. Such is usually the fruit of all these fine theories! Your grandfather was the cause of the saturnalia which desolated France."*

Duroc informed me that the emperor uttered these last words in a tone of fury which made all present tremble for young de Staël. Fortunately, the young man did not lose his self-possession in the conflict, while the agitated expression of his countenance evidently showed what was passing in his mind. He was sufficiently master of himself to reply to the emperor in a calm, though rather faltering, voice:—"Sire, permit me to hope that posterity will judge of my grandfather more favourably than your majesty does. During his administration he was ranked by the side of Sully and Colbert; and let me repeat again, that I trust posterity will render him justice."—"Posterity will, probably, say little about him."—"I venture to hope the contrary, Sire."

Then, added Duroc, the emperor turning to us said, with a smile, "After all, gentlemen, it is not for me to say too much against the revolution, since I have caught a throne by it." Then again turning to M. de Staël, he said, "The reign of anarchy is at end. I must have subordination. *Respect the sovereign authority, since it comes from God.* You are young, and well educated; therefore, follow a better course, and avoid those bad principles which commit the welfare of society."—"Sire, since your majesty does me the honour to think me well educated, you ought not to condemn the principles of my grandfather and my mother; for it is in those principles that I have been brought up."—"Well, I advise you to keep right in politics; for I will not pardon any offences of the Necker kind. Every one should keep right in politics."

* For the defence of M. Necker, the reader may consult Madame de Staël's work on the French revolution.—*Editor.*

"This conversation, Duroc informed me, had continued the whole time of breakfast, and the emperor rose just as he pronounced these last words: "Every one should keep right in politics." At that moment young de Staël again renewed his solicitations for his mother's recall from exile. Bonaparte then stepped up to him, and pinched his ear with that air of familiarity which was customary to him when he was in good humour, or wished to appear so. "You are young," said he; "if you had my age and experience, you would judge of things more correctly. I am far from being displeased with your frankness. I like to see a son plead his mother's cause. Your mother has given you a difficult commission, and you have executed it cleverly. I am glad I have had this opportunity of conversing with you. I love to talk with young people, when they are unassuming, and not too fond of arguing. But in spite of that, I will not hold out false hopes to you. Murat has already spoken to me on the subject, and I have told him, as I now tell you, that my will is irrevocable. If your mother were in prison, I should not hesitate to liberate her; but nothing shall induce me to recall her from exile."—"But, Sire, is she not as unhappy in being banished from her country and her friends as if she were in prison?"—"Oh! those are your mother's romantic ideas. She is exceedingly unhappy, and much to be pitied, no doubt! . . . With the exception of Paris, she has all Europe for her prison."—"But, Sire, her friends are in Paris."—"With her talents, she may make friends any where. After all, I cannot understand why she should be so anxious to come to Paris. Why should she wish to place herself immediately within the reach of my tyranny? Can she not go to Rome, to Berlin, to Vienna, to Milan, or to London? Yes, let her go to London; that is the place for her. There she may libel me as much as she pleases. In short, she has my full liberty to be any where but in Paris. You see, Monsieur de Staël, *that* is the place of my residence, and *there* I will have only those who are attached to me. I know, from experience, that if I were to allow your mother to come to Paris, she would spoil every body about me. She would finish the spoiling of Garat. It was she who ruined the tribunate. I know she would promise wonders; but she cannot refrain from meddling with politics."—"I can assure your majesty, that my mother does not now concern herself about politics. She devotes herself exclusively to the society of her friends and to literature."—"Ah, there it is! . . . Literature! Do you think I am to be imposed upon by that word? While discoursing on literature, morals, the fine arts, and such matters, it is easy to dabble in politics. Let women mind their knitting. If your mother were in Paris, I should hear all sorts of reports about her. Things, might, indeed, be falsely attributed to her; but, be that as it may, I will have nothing of the kind going on

in the capital in which I reside. All things considered, advise your mother to go to London. That is the best place for her. As for your grandfather, I have not spoken too severely of him. M. Necker knew nothing of the art of government. I have learned something of the matter during the last twenty years.” —“All the world, Sire, renders justice to your majesty’s genius, and there is no one but acknowledges that the finances of France are now more prosperous than ever they were before your reign. But, permit me to observe, that your majesty must, doubtless, have seen some merit in the financial regulations of my grandfather, since you have adopted some of them in the admirable system you have established.” —“That proves nothing; for two or three good ideas do not constitute a good system. Be that as it may, I say again, I will never allow your mother to return to Paris.” —“But, Sire, if sacred interests should absolutely require her presence there for a few days, would not . . .” —“How! Sacred interests! What do you mean?” —“Yes, Sire, if you do not allow her to return, I shall be obliged to go there, unaided by her advice, in order to recover from your majesty’s government the payment of a sacred debt.” —“Ah! bah! Sacred! Are not all the debts of the state sacred?” —“Doubtless, Sire; but ours is attended with circumstances which give it a peculiar character.” —“A peculiar character! Nonsense! Does not every state creditor say the same of his debt? Besides, I know nothing of your claim. It does not concern me, and I will not meddle with it. If you have the law on your side, so much the better; but if you want favour I tell you I will not interfere. If I did, I should be rather against you than otherwise.” —“Sire, my brother and myself had intended to settle in France; but how can we live in a country where our mother cannot visit us?” —“I do not care for that. I do not advise you to come here. Go to England. The English like wrangling politicians. Go there, for in France, I tell you candidly, that I should be rather against you than for you.”

“After this conversation,” added Duroc, “the emperor got into the carriage with me, without stopping to look to the other petitions which had been presented to him. He preserved unbroken silence until he got nearly opposite the cascade, on the left of the road, a few leagues from Chambéry. He appeared to be absorbed in reflection. At length he said, ‘I fear I have been somewhat too harsh with this young man . . . But no matter, it will prevent others from troubling me. These people calumniate every thing I do. They do not understand me, Duroc; their place is not in France. How can Necker’s family be for the Bourbons, whose first duty, if ever they returned to France, would be to hang them all?’”

This conversation, related to me by Duroc, interested me so much that I noted it down on paper immediately after my interview.*

* For a brief, but good notice of M. the Baron Auguste de Staël, who, as a mere stripling, figures so advantageously in this remarkable scene, we may refer the reader to "*Mélanges Historiques et Littéraires*, par M. de Baron de Barante, Pair de France, &c. &c." vol. ii. p. 359. Paris Edition of 1835.

After the fall of Bonaparte, Auguste de Staël became an orator and a political writer of high reputation. See his "*Œuvres diverses*," Paris, 1829.—*Editor*.

CHAPTER X.

1808.

The republic of Batavia—The crown of Holland offered to Louis—Offer and refusal of the crown of Spain—Napoleon's attempt to get possession of Brabant—Napoleon before and after Erfurt—A remarkable letter to Louis—Louis summoned to Paris—His honesty and courage—His bold language—Louis's return to Holland, and his letter to Napoleon—Harsh letter from Napoleon to Louis—Affray at Amsterdam—Napoleon's displeasure and last letter to his brother—Louis's abdication in favour of his son—Union of Holland to the French empire—Protest of Louis against that measure—Letter from M. Otto to Louis.

WHILE Bonaparte was the chief of the French republic, he had no objection to the existence of a Batavian republic in the north of France, and he equally tolerated the Cisalpine republic in the south. But after the coronation all the republics, which were grouped like satellites round the grand republic, were converted into kingdoms, subject to the empire, if not avowedly, at least in fact. In this respect there was no difference between the Batavian and Cisalpine republic. The latter having been metamorphosed into the kingdom of Italy, it was necessary to find some pretext for transforming the former into the kingdom of Holland. The government of the republic of Batavia had been for some time past merely the shadow of a government; but still it preserved, even in its submission to France, those internal forms of freedom which console a nation for the loss of independence. The emperor kept up such an extensive agency in Holland, that he easily got up a deputation, soliciting him to choose a king for the Batavian republic. This submissive deputation came to Paris in 1806, to solicit the emperor, as a favour, to place Prince Louis on the throne of Holland. The address of the deputation, the answer of Napoleon, and the speech of Louis on being raised to the sovereign dignity, have all been published.

Louis became King of Holland much against his inclination, for he opposed the proposition as much as he dared, alleging as an objection the state of his health, to which certainly the climate of Holland was not favourable; but Bonaparte sternly replied to his remonstrance, "It is better to die a king than live a prince." He was then obliged to accept the crown. He went to Holland accompanied by Hortense, who, however, did not stay long there. The new king wanted to make himself beloved by his subjects, and as they were an entirely commercial people, the best way to win their affections was not to adopt Napoleon's rigid laws against commercial intercourse with England. Hence the first coolness between the two brothers, which ended in the abdication of Louis.

I know not whether Napoleon recollected the motive assigned by Louis for at first refusing the crown of Holland, namely, the climate of the country, or whether he calculated upon greater submission in another of his brothers; but this is certain, that Joseph was not called from the throne of Naples to the throne of Spain, until after the refusal of Louis. I have in my possession a copy of a letter written to him by Napoleon on the subject. It is without date of time or place; but its contents prove it to have been written in March or April, 1808. It is as follows:

BROTHER,

The King of Spain, Charles IV., has just abdicated. The Spanish people loudly appeal to me. Certain of obtaining no solid peace with England, unless I cause a great movement on the continent, I have determined to place a French king on the throne of Spain. The climate of Holland does not agree with you; besides, Holland cannot rise from her ruins. In the whirlwind of events, whether we have peace or not, there is no possibility of maintaining it. In this state of things, I have thought of the throne of Spain for you. Give me your opinions categorically on this measure. If I were to name you King of Spain, would you accept the offer? May I count on you? Answer me these two questions. Say, "I have received your letter of such a day, I answer, *yes*;" and then I shall count on your doing what I wish; or say "*No*," if you decline my proposal. Let no one enter into your confidence, and mention to no one the object of this letter. The thing must be done before we confess having thought about it.

NAPOLEON.

Before finally seizing Holland, Napoleon formed the project of separating Babant and Zealand from it, in exchange for other provinces, the possession of which was doubtful; but Louis successfully resisted this first act of usurpation. Bonaparte was too intent on the great business in Spain to risk any commotion in the north, where the declaration of Russia against Sweden already sufficiently occupied him. He therefore did not

insist upon, and even affected indifference to the proposed augmentation of the territory of the empire. This, at least, may be collected from another letter, dated Saint-Cloud, August 17, written upon hearing from M. Alexander de la Rochefoucauld, his ambassador in Holland, and from his brother himself, the opposition of Louis to his project.

The letter was as follows :

BROTHER,

I have received your letter relating to that of the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld. He was only authorized to make the proposals indirectly. Since the exchange does not please you, let us think no more about it. It was useless to make a parade of principles, though I never said that you ought not to consult the nation. The well-informed part of the Dutch people had already acknowledged their indifference to the loss of Brabant, which is connected with France rather than with Holland, and interspersed with expensive fortresses ; it might have been advantageously exchanged for the northern provinces. But once for all, since you do not like this arrangement, let no more be said about it. It was useless even to mention it to me ; for the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld was instructed merely to hint the matter.

Though ill-humour here evidently peeps out beneath affected condescension, yet the tone of this letter is singularly moderate. I may even say, kind, in comparison with other letters which Napoleon addressed to Louis. This letter, it is true, was written previously to the interview at Erfurt, when Napoleon, to avoid alarming Russia, made his ambition appear to slumber. But when he got his brother Joseph recognised, and when he had himself struck an important blow in the peninsula, he began to change his tone to Louis. On the 20th of December he wrote a very remarkable letter, which exhibits the unreserved expression of that tyranny which he wished to exercise over all his family, in order to make them the instruments of his despotism. He reproached Louis for not following his system of policy, telling him that he had forgotten he was a Frenchman, and that he wished to become a Dutchman. Among other things he said—

Your Majesty has done more ; you took advantage of the moment when I was involved in the affairs of the continent, to renew the relations between Holland and England—to violate the laws of the blockade, which are the only means of effectually destroying the latter power. I expressed my dissatisfaction by forbidding you to come to France, and I have made you feel, that even without the assistance of my armies, by merely closing the Rhine, the Weser, the Scheldt, and the Meuse, against Holland, I should have placed her in a situation more critical than if I had declared war against her. Your Majesty implored my generosity, appealed to my feelings as a brother, and promised to alter your conduct. I thought this warning would be sufficient. I raised my custom-house prohibitions ; but

your Majesty has returned to your old system..... Your Majesty received all the American ships that presented themselves in the ports of Holland, after having been expelled from those of France. I have been obliged a second time to prohibit trade with Holland. In this state of things we may consider ourselves really at war. In my speech to the legislative body I manifested my displeasure; for I will not conceal from you, that my intention is to unite Holland with France. This will be the most severe blow I can aim against England, and will deliver me from the perpetual insults which the plotters of your cabinet are constantly directing against me. The mouths of the Rhine and of the Meuse, ought, indeed, to belong to me. The principle that the *Thalweg* (towing path) of the Rhine, is the boundary of France, is a fundamental principle. Your Majesty writes to me on the 17th, that you are sure of being able to prevent all trade between Holland and England. I am of opinion that your Majesty promises more than you can fulfil. I shall, however, raise my custom-house prohibitions, whenever the existing treaties may be executed. The following are my conditions:—First. The interdiction of all trade and communication with England. Second. The supply of a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, seven frigates and seven brigs or corvettes, armed and manned. Third. An army of twenty-five thousand men. Fourth. The suppression of the rank of marshals. Fifth. The abolition of all the privileges of nobility, which are contrary to the constitution. Your Majesty may negotiate on these bases with the Duke de Cadore, through the medium of your minister; but be assured, that on the entrance of the first packet-boat into Holland, I will restore my prohibitions, and that *the first Dutch officer who may presume to insult my flag, shall be seized and hanged at the mainyard.* Your Majesty will find in me a brother if you prove yourself a Frenchman; but if you forget the sentiments which attach you to our common country, you cannot think it extraordinary that I should lose sight of those which nature created between us. In short, the union of Holland and France will be, of all things, most useful to France, to Holland, and the whole continent, because it will be most injurious to England. This union must be effected willingly, or by force. Holland has given me sufficient reason to declare war against her. However, I shall not scruple to consent to an arrangement which will secure to me the limit of the Rhine, and by which Holland will pledge herself to fulfil the conditions stipulated above.

Here the correspondence between the two brothers was suspended for a time; but Louis still continued exposed to new vexations on the part of Napoleon. About the end of 1809, the emperor summoned all the sovereigns who might be called his vassals to Paris. Among the number was Louis, who, however, did not show himself very willing to quit his states. He called a council of his ministers, who were of opinion that for the interest of Holland he ought to make this new sacrifice. He did so with resignation. Indeed, every day passed on the throne was a sacrifice made by Louis.

He lived very retired in Paris, and was closely watched by the police; for it was supposed that as he had come against his will, he would not protract his stay as long as Napoleon wished. The system of spying under which he found himself placed, added to the other circumstances of his situation, inspired him with a degree of energy of which he was not believed to be capable; and amidst the general silence of the servants of the empire, and even of the kings and princes assembled in the capital, he ventured to say, "I have been deceived by promises which were never intended to be kept. Holland is tired of being the sport of France." The emperor, who was unused to such language as this, was highly incensed at it. Louis had now no alternative, but to yield to the incessant exactions of Napoleon, or to see Holland united to France. He chose the latter, though not before he had exerted all his feeble power in behalf of the subjects whom Napoleon had consigned to him; but he would not be the accomplice of the man who had resolved to make those subjects the victims of his hatred against England. Who, indeed, could be so blind as not to see, that the ruin of the continent would be the triumph of British commerce?

Louis was, however, permitted to return to his states, to contemplate the stagnating effect of the continental blockade on every branch of trade and industry, formerly so active in Holland. Distressed at witnessing evils to which he could apply no remedy, he endeavoured by some prudent remonstrances to avert the utter ruin with which Holland was threatened. On the 23d of March, 1810, he wrote the following letter to Napoleon:

If you wish to consolidate the present state of France, to obtain maritime peace, or to attack England with advantage, those objects are not to be obtained by measures like the blockading system, the destruction of a kingdom raised by yourself, or the enfeebling of your allies, and setting at defiance their most sacred rights and the first principles of the law of nations. You should, on the contrary, win their affections for France, and consolidate and reinforce your allies, making them like your brothers, in whom you may place confidence. The destruction of Holland, far from being the means of assailing England, will serve only to increase her strength, by all the industry and wealth, which will fly to her for refuge. There are, in reality, only three ways of assailing England, namely, by detaching Ireland, getting possession of the East Indies, or by invasion. These two latter modes, which would be the most effectual, cannot be executed without naval force. But I am astonished that the first should have been so easily relinquished. That is a more secure mode of obtaining peace on good conditions than the system of injuring ourselves for the sake of committing a greater injury upon the enemy.

LOUIS.

Written remonstrances were no more to Napoleon's taste than verbal ones, at a time when, as I was informed by my friends,

whom fortune chained to his destiny, no one presumed to address a word to him, except in answer to his questions. Cambacérés, who alone had retained that privilege in public as his old colleague in the consulate, lost it after Napoleon's marriage with the daughter of Imperial Austria. His brother's letter highly roused his displeasure. Two months after he received it, being on a journey in the north, he replied from Ostend by a letter, which cannot be read without a feeling of pain, since it serves to show how weak are the most sacred ties of blood in comparison with the interests of an insatiable policy. This letter was as follows :

BROTHER,

In the situation in which we are placed, it is best to speak candidly. I know your secret sentiments, and all that you can say to the contrary can avail nothing. Holland is certainly in a melancholy situation. I believe you are anxious to extricate her from her difficulties : it is you, and you alone, who can do this. When you conduct yourself in such a way as to induce the people of Holland to believe that you act under my influence, that all your measures and all your sentiments are conformable with mine, then you will be loved, you will be esteemed, and you will acquire the power requisite for re-establishing Holland : when to be my friend, and the friend of France, shall become a title of favour at your court, Holland will be in her natural situation. Since your return from Paris, you have done nothing to effect this object. What will be the result of your conduct ? Your subjects bandied about between France and England, will throw themselves into the arms of France, and will demand to be united to her. You know my character, which is to pursue my object unimpeded by any consideration. What, therefore, do you expect me to do ? I can dispense with Holland : but Holland cannot dispense with my protection. If, under the dominion of one of my brothers, but looking to me alone for her welfare, she does not find in her sovereign my image, all confidence in your government is at an end ; your sceptre is broken. Love France, love my glory—that is the only way to serve Holland, if you had acted as you ought to have done, that country, having become a part of my empire, would have been the more dear to me, since I had given her a sovereign whom I almost regarded as my son. In placing you on the throne of Holland, I thought I had placed a French citizen there. You have followed a course diametrically opposite to what I expected. I have been forced to prohibit you from coming to France, and to take possession of a part of your territory. In proving yourself a bad Frenchman, you are less to the Dutch than a Prince of Orange, to whose family they owe their rank as a nation, and a long succession of prosperity and glory. By your banishment from France, the Dutch are convinced that they have lost what they would not have lost under a Schimmelpenninck, or a Prince of Orange. Prove yourself a Frenchman, and the brother of the emperor, and be assured that, thereby, you will serve the interests of Holland. But you seem to be incorrigible, for you would drive away the few Frenchmen who remain with you. You must be dealt with, not by affectionate advice, but by threats and compulsion. What mean the prayers, and mysterious

fasts you have ordered? Louis, you will not reign long. Your actions disclose better than your confidential letters, the sentiments of your mind. Return to the right course. Be a Frenchman in heart, or your people will banish you, and you will leave Holland an object of ridicule.* States must be governed by reason and policy, and not by the weakness produced by acrid and vitiated humours.

NAPOLEON.

A few days after this letter was despatched to Louis, Napoleon heard of a paltry affray which had taken place at Amsterdam, and to which Count de la Rochefoucauld gave a sort of diplomatic importance, being aware that he could not better please his master than by affording him an excuse for being angry. It appeared that the honour of the count's coachman had been put in jeopardy by the insult of a citizen of Amsterdam, and a quarrel had ensued, which, but for the interference of the guard of the palace, might have terminated seriously, since it assumed the character of a party affair between the French and Dutch. M. de la Rochefoucauld immediately despatched to the emperor, who was then at Lille, a full report of his coachman's quarrel, in which he expressed himself with as much earnestness as the illustrious author of the "Maxims" evinced when he waged war against kings. The consequence was, that Napoleon instantly fulminated the following letter against his brother Louis:

BROTHER,

At the very moment when you were making the fairest protestations, I learn that the servants of my ambassador have been ill-treated at Amsterdam. I insist that those who were guilty of this outrage be delivered up to me, in order that their punishment may serve as an example to others. The *Sieur Serrurier* has informed me how you conducted yourself at the diplomatic audiences. I have, consequently, determined that the Dutch ambassador shall not remain in Paris; and Admiral Verhuell has received orders to depart within twenty-four hours. I want no more phrases and protestations. It is time I should know whether you intend to ruin Holland by your follies. I do not choose that you should again send a minister to Austria, or that you should dismiss the French who are in your service. I have recalled my ambassador as I intend only to have a *chargé d'affaires* in Holland. The *Sieur Serrurier*, who remains there in that capacity, will communicate my intentions. My ambassador shall no longer be exposed to your insults. Write to me no more of those set phrases which you have been repeating for the last three years, and the falsehood of which is proved every day.

This is the last letter I will ever write to you as long as I live.

NAPOLEON.

* It was on the contrary, because Louis made himself a Dutchman, that his people *did not* banish him, and that he carried away with him the regret of all that portion of his subjects who could appreciate his excellent qualities, and possessed good sense enough to perceive that he was not to blame for the evils that weighed upon Holland.—*Bourrienne*. The conduct of Bonaparte to Murat was almost a counterpart to this. When Murat attempted to consult the interests of Naples he was called a traitor to France.—*Editor*.

Thus reduced to the cruel alternative of crushing Holland with his own hands, or leaving that task to the emperor, Louis did not hesitate to lay down his sceptre. Having formed this resolution, he addressed a message to the legislative body of the kingdom of Holland, explaining the motives of his abdication. What, indeed, could be more reasonable than that measure, when he found an armed force occupying his dominions, which had been united to the empire by what was formerly called a family alliance? But at that time no consideration could restrain the arbitrary will of Napoleon. The French troops entered Holland, under the command of the Duke of Reggio; and that marshal, who was more a king than the king himself, threatened to occupy Amsterdam. Louis then descended from his throne, and four years after Napoleon was hurled from his.

In his act of abdication, Louis declared that he had been driven to that step by the unhappy state of his kingdom, which he attributed to his brother's unfavourable feelings towards him. He added, that he had made every effort and sacrifice to put an end to that painful state of things, and that, finally, he regarded himself as the cause of the continual misunderstanding between the French empire and Holland. It is curious that Louis thought he could abdicate the crown of Holland in favour of his son, as Napoleon only four years after wished to abdicate his crown in favour of the King of Rome. How often do these similarities occur in the history of Napoleon! In the depth of his adversities, how often was he assailed with precisely the same blows he had aimed at others in the height of his fortune!

Louis bade farewell to the people of Holland in a proclamation, after the publication of which he repaired to the waters at Tœplitz. There he was living in tranquil retirement, when he learned that his brother had united Holland to the empire. He then published a protest, of which I obtained a copy, though its circulation was strictly prohibited by the police. In this protest, Louis said—

The constitution of the state, guaranteed by the emperor, my brother, gave me the right of abdicating in favour of my children. That abdication was made in the form and terms prescribed by the constitution. The emperor had no right to declare war against Holland, and he has not done so.

There is no act, no assent, no demand of the Dutch nation that can authorize the pretended union.

My abdication does not leave the throne vacant. I have abdicated only in favour of my children.

As that abdication left Holland for twelve years under a regency, that is to say, under the direct influence of the emperor, according to the terms of the constitution, there was no need of that union for executing every measure he might have in view against trade and against England, since his will was supreme in Holland.

But I ascended the throne without any other conditions except

those imposed upon me by my conscience, my duty, and the interest and welfare of my subjects. I therefore declare, before God and the independent sovereigns to whom I address myself—

First. That the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, which occasioned the separation of the province of Zealand and Brabant from Holland, was accepted by compulsion, and ratified, conditionally, by me in Paris, where I was detained against my will; and that, moreover, the treaty was never executed by the emperor, my brother. Instead of six thousand French troops, which I was to maintain, according to the terms of the treaty, that number has been more than doubled: instead of occupying only the mouths of the rivers and the coasts, the French custom-houses have encroached into the interior of the country; instead of the interference of France being confined to the measures connected with the blockade of England, Dutch magazines have been seized and Dutch subjects arbitrarily imprisoned; finally, none of the verbal promises have been kept which were made in the emperor's name, by the Duke de Cadore, to grant indemnities for the countries ceded by the said treaty, and to mitigate its execution, if the king would refer entirely to the emperor, &c. I declare, in my name, in the name of the nation, and my son, the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, to be null and void.

Second. I declare, that my abdication was forced by the emperor, my brother, that it was made only as the last extremity, and on this one condition—that I should maintain the rights of Holland and my children. My abdication could only be made in their favour.

Third. In my name, in the name of the king, my son,* who is as yet a minor, and in the name of the Dutch nation, I declare the pretended union of Holland to France, mentioned in the decree of the emperor, my brother, dated the 9th of July last, to be null, void, illegal, unjust, and arbitrary in the eyes of God and man; and that the nation and the minor king will assert their just rights, when circumstances permit them.

LOUIS.

August 1, 1810.

Thus there seemed to be an end of all intercourse between these two brothers, who were so opposite in character and disposition. But Napoleon, who was enraged that Louis should have presumed to protest, and that in energetic terms, against the union of his kingdom with the empire, ordered him to return

* The eldest son of Louis, one of the fruits of his unhappy marriage with Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine, the wife of his brother Napoleon, was little more than six years of age when his father abdicated the crown of Holland in his favour. In 1830-31, this imprudent young man joined the ill-combined, mad insurrection in the states of the Pope. He was present in one or two petty skirmishes, and was, we believe, wounded; but it was a malaria fever, caught in the unhealthy Campagna of Rome, that carried him to the grave in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He thought that his name—NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE, would be enough to revolutionize all Italy, and drive out of it not merely the poor old Pope, but the Austrians, the King of Naples, and all the other princes that reign there. He was sadly disappointed!—*Editor.*

to France, whither he was summoned in his character of constable and French prince. Louis, however, did not think proper to obey this summons, and Napoleon, faithful to his promise of never writing to him again, ordered the following letter to be addressed to him by M. Otto, who had been ambassador from France to Vienna, since the yet recent marriage of the emperor with Maria Louisa.

SIRE,

The emperor directs me to write to your Majesty as follows :

"It is the duty of every French prince, and every member of the imperial family, to reside in France, whence they cannot absent themselves without the permission of the emperor. Before the union of Holland to the empire, the emperor permitted the king to reside at Teplitz, in Bohemia. His health appeared to require the use of the waters ; but now the emperor requires that Prince Louis shall return, at the latest by the 1st of December next, under pain of being considered as disobeying the constitution of the empire and the head of his family, and being treated accordingly."

I fulfil, Sire, word for word, the mission with which I have been intrusted, and I send the chief secretary of the embassy, to be assured that this letter is rightly delivered. I beg your Majesty to accept the homage of my respect, &c.

OTTO.

What a letter was this to be addressed by a subject to a prince and a sovereign ! When I afterwards saw M. Otto in Paris, and conversed with him on the subject, he assured me how much he had been distressed at the necessity of writing such a letter to the brother of the emperor. He had employed the expressions dictated by Napoleon, in that irritation which he could never command when his will was opposed.*

* With regard to Louis and his conduct in Holland, Napoleon thus spoke at St. Helena :

"Louis is not devoid of intelligence, and has a good heart ; but even with these qualifications a man may commit many errors, and do a great deal of mischief. Louis is naturally inclined to be capricious and fantastical, and the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau have contributed to increase this disposition. Seeking to obtain a reputation for sensibility and beneficence, incapable by himself of enlarged views, and, at most, competent to local details, Louis acted like a prefect rather than a king.

"No sooner had he arrived in Holland, than fancying that nothing could be finer than to have it said that he was thenceforth a true Dutchman, he attached himself entirely to the party favourable to the English, promoted smuggling, and thus connived with our enemies. It became necessary from that moment to watch over him, and even threaten to wage war against him. Louis then seeking a refuge against the weakness of his disposition in the most stubborn obstinacy, and mistaking a public scandal for an act of glory, fled from his throne, declaiming against me and against my insatiable ambition, my intolerable tyranny, &c. What then remained for me to do ? Was I to abandon Holland to our enemies ? Ought I to have given it another king ? But in that case could I have expected more from him than from my own brother ? Did not all the

kings that I created act nearly in the same manner? I therefore united Holland to the empire; and this act produced a most unfavourable impression in Europe, and contributed not a little to lay the foundation of our misfortunes."—*Mémoires de Sainte Hélène*.

We will leave it to the good sense of the reader to compare this statement with the full and affecting narrative of Bourrienne. But in weighty affairs like these it may be useful, as it certainly is fair, to give both sides of the question.—*Editor*.

CHAPTER XI.

1809.

Demands for contingents from some of the small states of Germany—M. Metternich—Position of Russia with respect to France—Union of Austria and Russia—Return of the English to Spain—Sout King of Portugal, and Murat successor to the emperor—First levy of the Landwehre in Austria—Agents of the Hamburg Correspondent—Letter from Napoleon to the Emperor of Austria—Declaration of Prince Charles—Napoleon's march to Germany—His proclamation—Bernadotte's departure for the army—Napoleon's dislike of Bernadotte—Prince Charles's plan of campaign—The English at Cuxhaven—Fruitlessness of the plots of England—Napoleon wounded—Napoleon's prediction realized—Major Schill—Hamburg threatened and saved—Schill in Lubeck—His death, and destruction of his band—Schill imitated by the Duke of Brunswick—Departure of the English from Cuxhaven.

BONAPARTE, the bases of whose empire were his sword and his victories, and who was anxiously looking forward to the time when the sovereigns of continental Europe should be his juniors, applied for contingents of troops from the states to which I was accredited. The Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was to furnish a regiment of eighteen hundred men, and the other little states, such as Oldenburg and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, were to furnish regiments of less amount. All Europe was required to rise in arms to second the gigantic projects of the new sovereign. This demand for contingents, and the positive way in which the emperor insisted upon them, gave rise to an immense correspondence, which, however, was unattended by any result. The notes and orders remained in the portfolios, and the contingents stayed at home.

M. Metternich, whose talent has since been so conspicuously displayed, had been for upwards of a year ambassador from Austria to Paris. Even then he excelled in the art of insinuation, and of turning to the advantage of his policy his external graces, and the favour he acquired in the drawing-room. His father, a clever man, brought up in the old diplomatic school

of Thugut and Kaunitz, had early accustomed him to the task of making other governments believe, by means of agents, what might lead them into error, and tend to the advantage of his own government. His manœuvres tended to make Austria assume a discontented and haughty tone; and wishing, as she said, to secure her independence, she publicly declared her intention of protecting herself against any enterprise similar to those of which she had so often been the victim. This language, encouraged by the complete evacuation of Germany, and the war in Spain, the unfortunate issue of which was generally foreseen, was used in time of peace between the two empires, and when France was not threatening war to Austria.

M. de Metternich, who had instructions from his court, gave no satisfactory explanation of those circumstances to Napoleon, who instantly raised a conscription, and brought soldiers from Spain into Germany.

It was necessary, also, to come to an understanding with Russia, who, being engaged with her wars in Finland and Turkey, appeared desirous neither to enter into alliance with Austria, nor to afford her support. What, in fact, was the Emperor Alexander's situation with respect to France? He had signed a treaty of peace at Tilsit, which he felt had been forced upon him; and he knew that time alone would render it possible for him to take part in a contest which, it was evident, would again be renewed, either with Prussia or Austria.

Every person of common sense must have perceived that Austria, in taking up arms, reckoned, if not on the assistance, at least on the neutrality of Russia. Russia was then engaged with two enemies, the Swedes and the Turks, over whom she hoped to triumph. She, therefore, rejoiced to see France again engage in a struggle with Austria, and there was no doubt that she would take advantage of any chances favourable to the latter power, to join her in opposing the encroachments of France. I never could conceive how, under those circumstances, Napoleon could be so blind as to expect assistance from Russia in his quarrel with Austria. He must, indeed, have been greatly deceived as to the footing on which the two courts stood with reference to each other—their friendly footing, and their mutual agreement to oppose the overgrowing ambition of their common enemy.

The English, who had been compelled to quit Spain, now returned there. They landed in Portugal, which might be regarded as their own colony, and marched against Marshal Soult, who left Spain to meet them. Any other man than Soult would, perhaps, have been embarrassed by the obstacles which he had to surmount. A great deal has been said about his wish to make himself king of Portugal. Bernadotte told me, when he passed through Hamburg, that the matter had been the subject of much conversation at head-quarters, after the battle of

Wagram. Bernadotte placed no faith in the report, and I am pretty sure that Napoleon also disbelieved it. However, this matter is still involved in the obscurity from which it will only be drawn, when some person, acquainted with the intrigue, shall give a full explanation of it.*

Since I have, with reference to Soult, touched upon the subject of supposed ambition, I will mention here what I know of Murat's expectation of succeeding the emperor. When Romanzow returned from his useless mission of mediation to London, the emperor proceeded to Bayonne. Bernadotte, who had an agent in Paris, whom he paid highly, told me one day that he had received a despatch, informing him that Murat entertained the idea of one day succeeding the emperor. Sycophants, expecting to derive advantage from it, encouraged Murat in this chimerical hope. I know not whether Napoleon was acquainted with this circumstance, nor what he said of it; but Bernadotte spoke of it to me as a certain fact? It would, however, have been very wrong to attach great importance to an expression which, perhaps, escaped Murat in a moment of ardour, for his natural temperament sometimes betrayed him into acts of imprudence, the result of which, with a man like Napoleon, was always to be dreaded.

It was in the midst of the operations of the Spanish war, which Napoleon directed in person, that he learned Austria had, for the first time, raised the landwehre. I obtained some very

* "Certain rumours reached Schonbrunn, which led to the belief that some extraordinary circumstances had taken place in Portugal, where, it was imagined, Marshal Soult aimed at the sovereignty: many versions of such a story have undoubtedly been reported. A few appeared to merit attention, because the emperor's cause was generally supposed to be desperate after the battle of Essling, and because the Grand Duke of Berg having become King of Naples, as a reward for glorious feats of arms, it might be supposed that the officers of the same rank were of a no less ambitious character. The emperor treated the whole matter as mere folly; the rumour appeared to him quite absurd, and he laughed heartily at it. Nevertheless, he wrote to Marshal Soult, *that he only retained a recollection of Austerlitz*, because his name had been too often mentioned in the emperor's hearing for the marshal to suppose that his sovereign had been wholly ignorant of the rumours; and he would therefore have felt uneasy at the emperor's silence.

"The emperor never harboured a feeling of resentment against any one on the occasion to which I allude; though he certainly had the reports inquired into, the origin of which was never accurately known; he alone could have grounds for his opinion; but I never heard him advert to the subject. I have ever since had an impression upon my mind that he really bestowed more attention to those rumours than we had at first imagined, and that they were mainly instrumental in making him determine to bring the war to a close with the least possible delay.

"The inquiries into this business were followed by proceedings against an officer of dragoons, who was convicted of having frequently repaired to the English army in a clandestine manner. He alleged in his defence that he had been sent there; but as he could not exhibit any proof of the allegation, he was treated as a deserter, and underwent the punishment decreed against persons guilty of that crime."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (Editor.)

curious documents respecting the armaments of Austria, from the editor of the Hamburg Correspondent. This paper, the circulation of which amounted to not less than sixty thousand, paid considerable sums to persons in different parts of Europe, who were able and willing to furnish the current news. The Correspondent paid sixty thousand francs a year to a clerk in the war department at Vienna, and it was this clerk who supplied the intelligence that Austria was preparing for war, and that orders had been issued, in all directions, to collect and put in motion, all the resources of that powerful monarchy. I communicated these particulars to the French government, and suggested the necessity of increased vigilance and measures of defence. Preceding aggressions, especially that of 1805, were not to be forgotten. Similar information probably reached the French government from many quarters. Be that as it may, the emperor consigned the military operations in Spain to his generals, and departed for Paris, where he arrived at the end of January, 1809. He had been in Spain only since the beginning of November, 1808,* and his presence there had again rendered

* It was on the 8th of August, exactly three months before Bonaparte's entrance into Spain, that Sir Arthur Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington), effected his landing in the bay of Mondego, and began his march upon Lisbon. On the 17th, the French under General Laborde, had the first taste of the Wellington bayonets at Rorica, from which strong position they were driven with great loss. On the 21st, the British beat the whole French army at Vimiero, and shut up Junot, the Duke of Abrantes, in Lisbon. On the next day a man of sadly inferior capacity, Sir Harry Burrard, took the command out of Wellington's hands. Sir Harry had just time to commit a few capital mistakes, for the next day he was superseded in his turn by Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, on the 30th of the same month, notwithstanding that the Portuguese were arming on all sides, and that Sir John Moore had arrived off the coast with a reinforcement of 10,000, concluded the so called "Convention of Cintra," by which Junot and his army were allowed quietly to depart for France, and to carry all their plunder with them. As if every thing connected with this absurd transaction was doomed to be a blunder, we called it the *Convention of Cintra*, though it was concluded at another place, nearly thirty miles from Cintra!

The successes obtained by Napoleon during his stay of about three months in Spain, were certainly very great, and mainly resulted from his own masterly genius and lightning-like rapidity. The Spanish armies, as yet unsupported by British troops, were defeated at Gomenal, Espinosa, Reynosa, Tudela, and at the pass of the Somosierra mountains; and at an early hour of the morning of the 4th of December, Madrid surrendered. On the 20th of December, Bonaparte marched with far superior forces against the unfortunate Sir John Moore, who had been sent to advance into Spain both by the wrong route, *and at a wrong time*. On the 29th, from the heights of Benevento, his eyes were delighted by seeing the English in full retreat. But a blow struck him from another quarter, and leaving Soult to follow up Moore, he took the road to Paris.

On January 16th, 1809, was fought the battle of Corunna, the results of which were the defeat, or complete checking of Soult, the death of the gallant Moore, and the safe embarkment of the British troops. "It excited universal surprise," says Mr. Lockhart, "that the emperor did not immediately return from Benevento to Madrid, to complete and consolidate his Spanish conquest. He, however, proceeded, not towards Madrid, but Paris, and this with his utmost speed, riding on post-horses on one occasion, not less than seventy-five

our banners victorious. But though the insurgent troops were beaten, the inhabitants showed themselves more and more unfavourable to Joseph's cause; and it did not appear very probable, that he could ever seat himself tranquilly on the throne of Madrid.

Before I relate what I know respecting the German campaign, which was about to commence, I must refer back to one of the most important events preceding it. When I spoke of the interview at Erfurt, I quoted a rather ambiguous letter, transmitted from the Emperor Francis to Napoleon, by Baron Vincent. The answer to this letter seemed to be dictated by a sort of foresight of the events of 1809. It was in the following terms:

SIRE, MY BROTHER,

I thank your Royal and Imperial Majesty for the letter you have been so good as to write me, and which Baron Vincent delivered, I never doubted the upright intentions of your Majesty, but I nevertheless feared for a moment that hostilities would be renewed between us. There is, at Vienna, a faction which affects alarm in order to drive your cabinet to violent measures, which would entail misfortunes greater than those that are past. I had it in my power to dismember your Majesty's monarchy, or at least to diminish its power. I did not do so. It exists as it is by my consent. This is a plain proof that our accounts are settled; that I have no desire to injure you. I am always ready to guarantee the integrity of your monarchy: I will never do any thing adverse to the important interests of states. But your Majesty ought not to bring again under discussion what has been settled by a fifteen years' war. You ought to avoid every proclamation or act calculated to excite dissension. The last levy, in mass, might have provoked war if I had apprehended that the levy and preparations were made in conjunction with Russia. I have just disbanded the camp of the Confederation. I have sent a hundred thousand men to Boulogne to renew my projects against England. I had reason to believe when I had the happiness of seeing your Majesty, and had concluded the treaty of Presburg, that our disputes were terminated for ever, and that I might undertake the maritime war without interruption. I beseech your Majesty to distrust those who, by speaking of the dangers of the monarchy, disturb your happiness, and that of your family and people. Those persons alone are dangerous: they create the dangers they pretend to fear. By a straightforward, plain, and ingenuous line of conduct, your Majesty will render your people happy, will secure to yourself that tranquillity of which you must stand in need after so many troubles, and will be sure of finding me determined to do nothing hostile to your important interests. Let your conduct bespeak confidence, and you will inspire it. The best policy at the present time is, simplicity and truth. Confide your troubles to me when you have any, and I will

English miles in five hours and a half. The cause of this sudden change of purpose and extraordinary haste, was a sufficient one, and it ere long transpired." The cause was this: Austria had armed, and was on the point of declaring that war which broke out three months later.—*Editor.*

Hamburg brought us news, or rather prodigies. As soon as the emperor was informed of the attack made by the Austrians upon Bavaria, orders were despatched to all the generals having troops under their command; to proceed with all speed to the theatre of the war. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo was summoned to join the grand army with the Saxon troops under his command, and for the time he resigned the government of the Hanse Towns. Colonel Damas succeeded him at Hamburg during that period, but merely as commandant of the fortress, and he never gave rise to any murmur or complaint. Bernadotte was not satisfied with his situation, and indeed the emperor, who was never much disposed to bring him forward, because he could not forgive him for his opposition on the 18th Brumaire, always appointed him to posts in which but little glory was to be acquired, and placed as few troops as possible under his command.

I shall not enter into any longer details respecting the second campaign of Vienna, than I did respecting the first, and the campaign of Tilsit. I will confine myself, as before, to repeating from recollection, the information which I obtained at Hamburg, where my functions always became more delicate whenever any new event occurred in Germany. I can declare, that in 1809 it required all the promptitude of the emperor's march upon Vienna to defeat the plots which were brewing against his government; for in the event of his arms being unsuccessful, the blow was ready to be struck. The English force in the north of Germany amounted to about ten thousand men. The Archduke Charles had formed the project of concentrating in the middle of Germany a large body of troops, consisting of the corps of Generals Am Ende, of General Radizwowitz, and of the English, with whom were to be joined the people who were expected to

sallying out from their hiding-places, and travelling by strange mountain-paths, like men perfectly well acquainted with the country, they chose their time, and unexpectedly crushed the incautious soldiery. This was a singular and a terrible warfare. To the rumour of arms were added the continual tolling of all the church bells, and the shouting of the peasants, who exclaimed incessantly, 'In the name of God! In the name of the most Holy Trinity!' All these noises united, and repeated by the echoes of the Alps, produced a confusion, full of horror, terror, and religion."—*Storia d'Italia*.

In consequence of the sad disasters of the Austrians in Germany, the Tyrolese peasants, who had never been properly supported, were eventually obliged to submit, and their great leader, Andrew Hofer, after a disgraceful court martial, was shot by the French. But Napoleon lost many thousands of his best troops in this war.

The Archduke John gave a sound beating to Eugene Beauharnais, then Viceroy of Italy, and took possession of Padua, Vicenza, and other cities; but, in consequence of Bonaparte's victories in Germany, he was obliged to retrace his steps, and being followed up by the reinforced Beauharnais into Hungary, he was defeated in a great battle near the town of Raab.

The spirit of the Austrian army at the opening of the campaign of 1809, was excellent, but great reverses followed great mistakes, and both officers and men became despondent.—*Editor*.

revolt. The English would have wished the Austrian troops to advance a little further. The English agent made some representations on this subject to M. Stadion, the Austrian minister; but the archduke preferred making a diversion to committing the safety of the monarchy, by departing from his present inactivity, and risking the passage of the Danube, in the face of an enemy who never suffered himself to be surprised, and who had calculated every possible event. In concerting his plan, the archduke expected that the Emperor of Austria would either detach a strong force to assist his allies, or that he would abandon them to their own defence. In the first case, the archduke would have had a great superiority, and in the second, all was prepared in Hesse and in Hanover, to rise on the approach of the Austrian and English armies.

At the commencement of July, the English advanced upon Cuxhaven, with a dozen small ships of war. They landed four or five hundred sailors, and about fifty marines, and planted a standard on one of the outworks. The day after this landing at Cuxhaven, the English, who were in Denmark, evacuated Copenhagen, after destroying a battery which they had erected there. On quitting Cuxhaven, they arrested M. Desarts, who was an agent of the consulate of Hamburg. All the plots of England were fruitless on the continent; for with the emperor's new system of war, which consisted in making a push on the capitals, he soon obtained negotiations for peace. He was master of Vienna before England had even organized the expedition to which I have just alluded. He left Paris on the 11th of April, was at Donawerth on the 17th, and on the 23d he was master of Ratisbon. In the engagement, which preceded his entrance into that town, Napoleon received a slight wound in the heel. He, nevertheless, remained on the field of battle. It was also between Donawerth and Ratisbon, that Davoust, by a bold manœuvre, gained and merited the title of Prince of Eckmühl.*

At this period, fortune was not only bent on favouring Napoleon's arms, but she seemed to take pleasure in realizing even his boasting predictions; for the French troops entered Vienna within a month after a proclamation issued by Napoleon at Ratisbon, in which he said he would be master of the Austrian capital in that time.†

But while he was thus marching from triumph to triumph, the people of Hamburg and the neighbouring countries, had a

* The great battle of Eckmühl, where 100,000 Austrians were driven from all their positions, was fought on the 22d of April.—*Editor.*

† The reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter for a brief description of the battle of Essling or Esslingen, which preceded Napoleon's second occupation of Vienna, and at which Marshal Lannes received the wound of which he shortly afterwards died. Savary's account of the death of Lannes is also subjoined.—*Editor.*

neighbour who did not leave them altogether without inquietude. The famous Prussian partisan, Major Schill, after pursuing his system of plunder in Westphalia, came and threw himself upon Mecklenburg, whence, I understood, it was his intention to surprise Hamburg. At the head of six hundred well-mounted hussars, and between fifteen hundred and two thousand infantry badly armed, he took possession of the little fort of Domitz, in Mecklenburg, on the 15th of May, from whence he despatched parties, who levied contributions on both banks of the Elbe. Schill inspired terror wherever he went. On the 19th of May, a detachment of thirty men belonging to Schill's corps entered Wismar. It was commanded by Count Moleke, who had formerly been in the Prussian service, and who had retired to his estate in Mecklenburg, where the duke had kindly given him an appointment. Forgetting his duty to his benefactor, he sent to summon the duke to surrender Stralsund. Alarmed at the progress of the partisan Schill, the Duke of Mecklenburg and his court quitted Ludwigsburg, their regular residence, and retired to Doberan, on the sea-coast. On quitting Mecklenburg, Schill advanced to Bergdorf, four leagues from Hamburg. The alarm then increased in that city. A few of the inhabitants talked of making a compromise with Schill, and sending him money to get him away. But the firmness of the majority imposed silence on this timid council. I consulted with the commandant of the town, and we determined to adopt measures of precaution. The custom-house chest, in which there was more than a million of gold, was sent to Holstein under a strong escort. At the same time I sent to Schill a clever spy, who gave him a most alarming account of the means of defence which Hamburg possessed. Schill accordingly gave up his designs on that city, and leaving it on his left, entered Lubeck, which was undefended.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-General Gratien, who had left Berlin by order of the Prince de Neufchatel, with two thousand five hundred Dutch, and three thousand Swedish troops, actively pursued Schill, and tranquillity was soon restored throughout all the neighbouring country, which had been greatly agitated by his bold enterprise. Schill, after wandering for some days on the shores of the Baltic, was overtaken by General Gratien, at Stralsund, whence he was about to embark for Sweden. He made a desperate defence, and was killed, after a conflict of two hours. His band was destroyed. Three hundred of his hussars, and two hundred infantry, who had effected their escape, asked leave to return to Prussia, and they were conducted to the Prussian general commanding a neighbouring town. A war of plunder, like that carried on by Schill, could not be honourably acknowledged by a power having any claim to respect. Yet, the English government sent Schill a colonel's commission, and the full uniform of his new rank, with the assurance that all *his troops* should thenceforth be paid by England.

Schill soon had an imitator of exalted rank; in 1809, the Duke of Brunswick-Cels sought the dangerous honour of succeeding that famous partisan. At the head of two thousand men at most, he for some days disturbed the left bank of the Elbe, and on the 5th entered Bremen. On his approach, the French vice-consul retired to Osterhulz. One of the duke's officers presented himself at the house of the vice-consul, and demanded two hundred louis. The agent of the vice-consul, alarmed at the threat of the place being given up to pillage, capitulated with the officer, and with considerable difficulty got rid of him at the sacrifice of eighty louis, for which a receipt was presented to him in the name of the duke. The duke, who now went by the name of the new Schill, did not remain long in Bremen. Wishing to repair with all possible speed to Holland, he left Bremen on the evening of the 6th, and proceeded to Delmenhorst, where his advanced guard had already arrived. The Westphalian troops, commanded by Reubell, entered Bremen on the 7th, and not finding the Duke of Brunswick, immediately marched in pursuit of him. The Danish troops, who occupied Cuxhaven, received orders to proceed to Bremerlehe, to favour the operations of the Westphalians and the Dutch. Meanwhile, the English approached Cuxhaven, where they landed three or four thousand men. The persons in charge of the custom-house establishment, and the few sailors who were in Cuxhaven, fell back upon Hamburg. The Duke of Brunswick, still pursued, crossed Germany from the frontiers of Bohemia to Elsfleth, a little port on the left bank of the Weser, where he arrived on the 7th, being one day in advance of his pursuers. He immediately took possession of all the transports at Elsfleth, and embarked for Heligoland.

The landing, which the English effected at Cuxhaven, while the Danes, who garrisoned that port, were occupied in pursuing the Duke of Brunswick, was attended by no result. After the escape of the duke, the Danes returned to their post, which the English immediately evacuated.

THE BATTLE OF ESSLINGEN.

"Prince Berthier sent me orders to rejoin the army. The emperor was already with it; I found him at Landshut, just after he had gained the battle of Ratisbon.

"We marched on Vienna. The emperor became more good-humoured, and treated me more kindly. The battle of Esslingen took place. Thousands of brave men lost their lives; Marshal Lannes received his mortal wound; the cavalry and artillery were destroyed; and the village of Esslingen, the most important point that remained

for us to defend, was inundated by twenty battalions of Hungarian grenadiers. We could no longer maintain our station: the enemy had already penetrated into the square-work which Napoleon had directed to be fortified the day before. Count Lobau advanced to meet them, and checked their progress; but they immediately received reinforcements. The emperor perceived this, and I was directed to take two battalions of the young guard, and to hasten to the assistance of our troops: I was to disengage them, to effect a retreat with them, and to take a position between the village and the remainder of the guard, on the banks of the Danube, near the bridge which had been broken. The Austrian columns advanced from all quarters on this point: our position became most hazardous. On our left, Masséna still occupied Gros Aspern; he had lost great numbers of his force, but he still maintained his ground. I placed myself at the head of my two battalions, and entered the village. I drew up my troops in the rear of General Mouton, and went to deliver to him the emperor's orders; but the whole of the enemy's reserve, under the command of the Archduke Charles, deployed at some distance. 'You have,' said I to Count Lobau, 'astonished those masses by your resistance; let us charge them with the bayonet, and drive them back upon the columns that are advancing: if we succeed, the emperor and the army will give us credit for our success; if we fail, the responsibility will rest with me.'—'With both of us,' replied the general. Our five battalions moved forward, charged, repulsed, and dispersed the enemy at the point of the bayonet. We were masters of the village. The archduke endeavoured in vain to recover it; five times he led his troops to the charge, and five times he was defeated. He experienced immense loss: ours was also considerable. Generals Mouton and Grosse were wounded; several other officers were killed. Napoleon was delighted with this affair; he complimented me very highly, and added, 'If ever you did well in not executing my orders, you have done so to-day; for the safety of the army depended on the taking of Esslingen.'—*Rapp's Memoirs.*

DEATH OF MARSHAL LANNES.

" Marshal Lannes having returned to the position he had quitted in the morning for the purpose of attacking the enemy, used his utmost endeavours to preserve it, and dismounted, owing to the proximity of the fire of the enemy's artillery, which made it hazardous to remain on horseback; the cavalry had crossed over long before, and was stationed in the island of Lobau. The emperor himself had quitted the field of battle, after issuing his final orders in respect to recrossing the bridge; and he was engaged in pointing some artillery in the island of Lobau, for the purpose of protecting the retreat of our columns, when intelligence was brought to him that Marshal Lannes had just had his legs carried off by a cannon-shot. He was affected to tears at the news; and at the moment he was listening to the particulars of that sad event, he perceived a litter coming from the field of battle with Marshal Lannes stretched upon it. He ordered him to be carried to a retired spot, where they might be alone and



THE DEATH OF MARSHAL LANNES.

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uninterrupted. With his face bathed in tears, he approached and embraced his dying friend. Exhausted by the great loss of blood, Marshal Lannes said to him, in broken accents, 'Farewell, Sire; spare a life dear to all; and bestow a passing thought upon the memory of one of your best friends, who in two hours will be no more!' This deeply affecting scene created in the emperor a powerful emotion. General Saint-Hilaire had a short time before been brought back wounded in the foot by a cannon-ball; he died of the wound a fortnight afterwards. The loss of Marshal Lannes was felt by the whole army, and completed the disasters of that fatal day." * * *

During the emperor's stay at Ebersdorf he went every day at noon to visit Marshal Lannes, who could not be removed to a greater distance than one of the houses of the village. Having received one day a message that the marshal was desirous to see him, he hastened to the spot. A delirious fever had come upon that unfortunate general, whose spirits, however, revived when he beheld the emperor. He had dreamed that an attempt was made upon his life; and said to him, that being unable to walk, he had sent to request he would come to defend him. The emperor was deeply afflicted at seeing the marshal in this state. The medical men requested him to withdraw, because the patient's case was desperate; and he returned home in great distress of mind. Two hours afterwards, he was again told that Marshal Lannes wished to bid him farewell; he immediately went to see him; but on his arrival, M. Yvan, the doctor in attendance, came up to inform him that the patient had expired a few minutes before. In Marshal Lannes we lost one of the most gallant men our armies could at any time boast of. His life was too short for his friends; but his career of honour and glory was without a parallel."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*.

The wife of Lannes was a beautiful and accomplished woman, and devotedly attached to her husband. Mademoiselle d'Avrillon, who knew her well, relates the following affecting incidents:

"It was during this journey we learnt that Marshal Lannes had both his legs shot off. When this fatal news reached Paris, his wife instantly set off, with the fond hope of still seeing her husband alive. On passing through Strasburg, where I was with the Empress Josephine, Madame Lannes was so eager to arrive at the place of her destination, that she would not come to the palace, on which the empress went to pay her a visit at the inn where she had put up for a few hours. Alas! in spite of all the haste she made, she arrived too late, or, rather, she did not arrive at all: a courier, who met her on the road, gave the fatal news that *he was no more*; and she returned slowly back to Paris."—*Mémoires*, tome ii.

According to Mademoiselle, on starting for the campaign, Lannes, who had never known what fear was, had a strong presentiment that he should die in it.—*Editor*.

CHAPTER XII.

1809.

The castle of Diernstein—Richard Cœur de Lion and Marshal Lannes—The emperor at the gates of Vienna—The Archduchess Maria Louisa—Proclamations and bulletins—Facility of correspondence with England—Smuggling in Hamburg—Brown sugar and sand—Hearses filled with sugar and coffee—Embargo on the publication of news—Supervision of the Hamburg Correspondent—Festival of St. Napoleon—Ecclesiastical adulation—The King of Westphalia's journey through his states—Attempt to raise a loan—Jerome's present to me—The present returned—Bonaparte's unfounded suspicions.

RAPP, who, during the campaign of Vienna had resumed his duties as aide-de-camp, related to me one of those observations of Napoleon, which, when his words are compared with the events that followed them, seem to indicate a foresight into his future destiny. When within some days' march of Vienna, the emperor procured a guide to explain to him every village and ruin which he observed on the road. The guide pointed to an eminence on which were a few decayed vestiges of an old fortified castle: "Those," said the guide, "are the ruins of the castle of Diernstein." Napoleon suddenly stopped, and stood for some time silently contemplating the ruins, then turning to Lannes, who was with him, he said, "See! yonder is the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion. He, like us, went to Syria and Palestine: But, my brave Lannes, the Cœur de Lion was not braver than you. He was more fortunate than I at Saint-Jean d'Acre. A duke of Austria sold him to an emperor of Germany, who imprisoned him in that castle. Those were the days of barbarism. How different from the civilization of modern times! Europe has seen how I treated the Emperor of Austria, whom I might have made prisoner—and I would treat him so again: I claim no credit for this. In the present age crowned heads must be respected. A conqueror imprisoned!"—A few days after, the emperor was at the gates of Vienna; but on this occasion his access to the Austrian capital was not so easy as it had been rendered in 1805, by the ingenuity and courage of Lannes and Murat. The Archduke Maximilian, who was shut

up in the capital, wished to defend it, although the French army already occupied the principal suburbs. In vain were flags of truce sent one after the other to the archduke. They were not only dismissed unheard, but were even ill-treated, and one of them was almost killed by the populace. The city was then bombarded, and would speedily have been destroyed, but that the emperor being informed that one of the archduchesses remained in Vienna on account of ill-health, ordered the firing to cease. By a singular caprice of Napoleon's destiny, this archduchess was no other than Maria Louisa. Vienna at length opened her gates to Napoleon, who, for some days took up his residence at Schœnbrunn. He immediately addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he said,

One month after the enemy passed the Inn, on the same day of the month, and at the same hour, we have entered Vienna. Her landwehres, her levies in mass, her ramparts created by the impotent fury of the princes of the house of Lorrain, have scarcely claimed your attention. The princes of that house have abandoned their capital, not like soldiers of honour yielding to the circumstances of war, but like perjurers, pursued by their own remorse. In flying from Vienna they bade farewell to the inhabitants by murder and conflagration. Like Medea, they have, with their own hands, slain their children.

Who would have believed, after the manner in which Napoleon alluded to the Emperor of Austria in this proclamation, that he would have closed the campaign with a proposal to marry his daughter? If it be said that I notice Napoleon's proclamations rather than his bulletins, the reason is this—his proclamations were founded on truth, with the exception of the prophecies, which were not always realized, like that of his entrance into Vienna. Their groundwork was the great historical events which had taken place before the eyes of the army to whom they were addressed; while his bulletins, which were destined to impose on the people of the interior of France and on foreign countries, too fully justified the proverb—"To lie like a bulletin."

The emperor was engaged in so many projects at once, that they could not all succeed. Thus, while he was triumphant in the hereditary states, his beloved continental system was experiencing severe checks. The trade with England on the coast of Oldenburg was carried on as uninterruptedly as if in time of peace. English letters and newspapers arrived on the continent, and those of the continent found their way into Great Britain, as if France and England had been united by ties of the firmest friendship. In short, things were just in the same state as if the decree for the blockade of the British isles had not existed. When the custom-house officers succeeded in seizing contraband goods, they were again taken from them by main force. On the 2d of July, a serious contest took place at Brinskhams between the custom-house officers and a party of

peasantry, in which the latter made themselves masters of eighteen waggons laden with English goods: many were wounded on both sides.

If, however, trade with England was carried on freely along a vast extent of coast, it was different in the city of Hamburg, where English goods were introduced only by fraud; and I verily believe that the art of smuggling, and the schemes of smugglers, were never before carried to such perfection. Above six thousand smugglers went backwards and forwards, about twenty times a day, from Altona to Hamburg, and they carried on their contraband trade by many ingenious stratagems, two of which were so curious that they are worth mentioning here.

On the left of the road leading from Hamburg to Altona, there was a piece of ground where pits were dug, for the purpose of procuring sand, used for building and for laying down in the streets. At this time it was proposed to repair the great street of Hamburg, leading to the gate of Altona. The smugglers overnight filled the sand-pit with brown sugar, and the little carts which usually conveyed the sand into Hamburg were filled with the sugar, care being taken to cover it with a layer of sand, about an inch thick. This trick was carried on for a length of time, but no progress was made in repairing the street; I complained greatly of the delay, even before I was aware of its cause; for the street led to a country-house I had near Altona, whither I went daily. The officers of the customs at length perceived that the work did not proceed, and one fine morning the sugar-carts were stopped and seized. Another expedient was then to be devised.

Between Hamburg and Altona there is a little suburb situated on the right bank of the Elbe. This suburb is inhabited by sailors, labourers of the port, and landowners. The inhabitants are interred in the cemetery of Hamburg. It was observed that funeral processions passed this way more frequently than usual. The custom-house officers amazed at the sudden mortality of the worthy inhabitants of the little suburb, insisted on searching one of the vehicles; and on opening the hearse, it was found to be filled with sugar, coffee, vanilla, indigo, &c. It was necessary to abandon this expedient, but others were soon discovered.

Bonaparte was sensitive, in an extraordinary degree, to all that was said and thought of him, and Heaven knows how many despatches I received from head-quarters during the campaign of Vienna, directing me not only to watch the vigilant execution of the custom-house laws, but to lay an embargo on a thing which alarmed him more than the introduction of British merchandise, viz., the publication of news. In conformity with these reiterated instructions, I directed especial attention to the management of the Correspondent. The importance of this journal, with its sixty thousand readers, may easily be perceived. I procured the insertion of every thing I thought desirable: all

the bulletins, proclamations, acts of the French government, notes of the *Moniteur*, and the semi-official articles of the French journals: these were all given *in extenso*. On the other hand, I often suppressed adverse news, which, though well known, would have received additional weight from its insertion in so widely circulated a paper. If by chance there crept in some Austrian bulletin, extracted from the other German papers, published in the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, there was always given with it a suitable antidote, to destroy, or at least to mitigate, its ill effect. But this was not all. The King of Wirtemberg having reproached the Correspondent in a letter to the minister for foreign affairs, with publishing whatever Austria wished should be made known, and being conducted in a spirit hostile to the *good cause*, I answered these unjust reproaches, by making the syndic censor prohibit the Hamburg papers from inserting *any* Austrian order of the day, *any* archduke's bulletins, *any* letter from Prague; in short, any thing which should be copied from the other German journals, unless those articles had been inserted in the French journals.

My recollections of the year 1809 at Hamburg, carry me back to the celebration of Napoleon's fête, which was on the 15th of August; for he had interpolated his patron saint in the imperial calendar, at the date of his birth. The coincidence of this festival with the Assumption, gave rise to adulatory rodomontades, of the most absurd description. Certainly the episcopal circulars under the empire would form a curious collection.* Could any thing be more revolting than the sycophancy of those churchmen who declared that "God chose Napoleon for his representative upon earth, and that God created Bonaparte, and then rested; that he was more fortunate than Augustus, more virtuous than Trajan; that he deserved altars and temples to be raised to him! &c. &c."

Sometime after the festival of St. Napoleon, the King of Westphalia made a journey through his states. Of all Napoleon's brothers, the King of Westphalia was the one with whom I was least acquainted, and he, it is pretty well known, was the most worthless of the family. His correspondence with me is limited to two letters, one of which he wrote while he commanded the Epervier, and another seven years after, dated 6th September, 1809. In this latter he said, "I shall be in Hanover on the 10th. If you can make it convenient to come there and spend a day with me, it will give me great pleasure. I shall

* It will perhaps scarcely be believed that the following words were actually delivered from the pulpit: "God in his mercy has chosen Napoleon to be his representative on earth. The Queen of Heaven has marked, by the most magnificent of presents, the anniversary of the day which witnessed her glorious entrance into her domains. Heavenly Virgin! as a special testimony of your love for the French, and your all-powerful influence with your son, you have connected the first of your solemnities with the birth of the great Napoleon. Heaven ordained that the hero should spring from your sepulchre."

then be able to smooth all obstacles to the loan I wish to contract in the Hanse Towns. I flatter myself you will do all in your power to forward that object, which, at the present crisis, is very important to my states. *More than ample security* is offered, but the money will be of no use to me if I cannot have it at *least for two years.*" Jerome wanted to contract at Hamburg, a loan of three millions of francs. However, the people did not seem to think like his Westphalian majesty, that the contract presented *more than ample security.* No one was found willing to draw his purse-strings, and the loan was never raised.

Though I would not, without the emperor's authority, exert the influence of my situation to further the success of Jerome's negotiation yet I did my best to assist him. I succeeded in prevailing on the senate to advance one loan of a hundred thousand francs, to pay a portion of the arrears due to his troops, and a second of two hundred thousand francs, to provide clothing for his army, &c. This scanty supply will cease to be wondered at, when it is considered to what a state of desolation the whole of Germany was reduced at the time.

As for Jerome, he returned to Cassel quite disheartened at the unsuccessful issue of his loan. Some days after his return to his capital, I received from him a snuff-box, with his portrait set in diamonds, accompanied by a letter of thanks for the service I had rendered him. I never imagined that a token of remembrance from a crowned head could possibly be declined. Napoleon, however, thought otherwise. I had not, it is true, written to acquaint our government with the King of Westphalia's loan, but in a letter, which I addressed to the minister for foreign affairs on the 22d of September, I mentioned the present Jerome had sent me. Why Napoleon should have been offended at this I know not, but I received orders to return Jerome's present immediately, and these orders were accompanied with bitter reproaches for my having accepted it without the emperor's authority. Knowing Bonaparte's distrustful disposition, I thought he must have suspected that Jerome had employed threats, or at any rate, that he had used some illegal influence to facilitate the success of his loan. At last, after much correspondence, Napoleon saw clearly that every thing was perfectly regular; in a word, that the business had been transacted as between two private persons. As to the three hundred thousand francs, which the senate had lent to Jerome, the fact is, that but little scruple was made about it, for this simple reason, that it was the means of removing from Hamburg the Westphalian division, whose presence occasioned a much greater expense than the loan.

CHAPTER XIII.

1809.

Visit to the field of Wagram—Union of the Papal states with the empire—The battle of Talaveira—Sir Arthur Wellesley—English expedition to Holland—Attempt to assassinate the emperor at Schönbrunn—Staps interrogated by Napoleon—Pardon offered and rejected—Fanaticism and patriotism—Corvisart's examination of Staps—Second interrogatory—Tirade against the illuminati—Accusation of the courts of Berlin and Weimar—Firmness and resignation of Staps—Particulars respecting his death—Influence of the attempt of Staps on the conclusion of peace—M. de Champagny.

NAPOLEON went to inspect all the corps of his army, and the field of Wagram, which, a short time before, had been the scene of one of those great battles, in which victory was the more glorious in proportion as it had been valiantly contested.* Five days after the bombardment of Vienna, namely, on the 17th of May, the emperor had published a decree, by virtue of which the pope's states were united to the French empire, and Rome was declared an imperial city. I will not stop to inquire whether this was good or bad in point of policy, but it was a mean usurpation on the part of Napoleon, for the time was passed when a Julius II. laid down the keys of St. Peter, and took up the sword of St. Paul. It was, besides, an injustice; and considering the pope's condescension to Napoleon, an act of black ingratitude. The decree of union did not deprive the pope of his residence; but he was only the first bishop of Christendom, with a revenue of two millions.

Napoleon, while at Vienna, heard of the affair of Talaveira de la Reyna. I was informed, by a letter from head-quarters, that he was much affected at the news, and did not conceal his vexation. I verily believe that he was bent on the conquest of Spain,

* The great battle of Wagram was fought on the 6th of July, 1809. The Austrians, who committed one of their usual mistakes in over-extending their lines, lost 20,000 men as prisoners, besides a fearful amount in killed and wounded. There was no day, perhaps, on which Napoleon showed more military genius or more personal courage. He was in the hottest of the fight, and for a long time exposed to showers of grape-shot.—*Editor.*

precisely on account of the difficulties he had to surmount. At Talaveira commenced the celebrity of a man, who, perhaps, would not have been without some glory, even if pains had not been taken to build him up a great reputation. That battle commenced the career of Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose after-success, however, has been attended by such important consequences.* Whilst we experienced this check in Spain, the English were attempting an expedition to Holland, where they had already made themselves masters of Walcheren. It is true they were obliged to evacuate it shortly after; but as, at that time, the French and Austrian armies were in a state of inaction, in consequence of the armistice concluded at Znaim, in Moravia, the news unfavourable to Napoleon had the effect of raising the hopes of the Austrian negotiators, who paused in the expectation that fresh defeats would afford them better chances. It was during these negotiations, the termination of which seemed every day to be further distant, that Napoleon was exposed to a more real danger than the wound he had received at Ratisbon. Germany was suffering under a degree of distress difficult to be described. Illuminism was making great progress, and had filled some youthful minds with an enthusiasm not less violent than the religious fanaticism to which Henry IV. fell a victim.

A young man formed the design of assassinating Napoleon, in order to rid Germany of one whom he considered her scourge. Rapp and Berthier were with the emperor when the assassin was arrested, and in relating what I heard from them, I feel assured that I am giving the most faithful account of all the circumstances connected with the event.

"We were at Schœnbrunn," said Rapp, "when the emperor had just reviewed the troops. I observed a young man at the extremity of one of the columns, just as the troops were about to defile. He advanced towards the emperor, who was then between Berthier and me. The Prince de Neufchâtel, thinking he wanted to present a petition, went forward to tell him that I was the person to receive it, as I was the aide-de-camp for the day. The young man replied, that he wished to speak with Napoleon himself, and Berthier again told him he must apply to me. He withdrew a little, still repeating that he wanted to speak with Napoleon. He again advanced and came very near the emperor; I desired him to fall back, telling him, in German, to wait till after the parade, when, if he had any thing to say, it would be attended to. I surveyed him attentively, for I began to think his conduct suspicious. I observed that he kept his right hand in the breast pocket of his coat; out of which a piece of paper appeared. I know not how it was, but at that moment my eyes met his, and I was struck with his peculiar look and air

* The battle of Talaveira took place on the 28th of July, twenty-two days after the fatal defeat of the Austrians at Wagram.—*Editor.*

of fixed determination. Seeing an officer of gendarmerie on the spot, I desired him to seize the young man, but without treating him with any severity, and to convey him to the castle until the parade was ended. All this passed in less time than I have taken to tell it; and as every one's attention was fixed on the parade, the scene passed unnoticed. I was shortly afterwards told that a large carving-knife had been found on the young man, whose name was Staps. I immediately went to find Duroc, and we proceeded together to the apartment to which Staps had been taken. We found him sitting on a bed, apparently in deep thought, but betraying no symptoms of fear. He had beside him the portrait of a young female, his pocket-book, and purse, containing only two pieces of gold. I asked him his name, but he replied, that he would tell it to no one but Napoleon. I then asked him what he intended to do with the knife which had been found upon him? But he answered again, 'I shall tell only Napoleon.'—'Did you mean to attempt his life?'—'Yes.'—'Why?'—'I can tell none but Napoleon.' This appeared to me so strange, that I thought right to inform the emperor of it. When I told him what had passed, he appeared a little agitated, for you know how he was haunted with the idea of assassination. He desired that the young man should be taken into his cabinet, whither he was accordingly conducted by two gendarmes. Notwithstanding his criminal intention, there was something exceedingly prepossessing in his countenance. I wished that he would deny the attempt; but how was it possible to save a man who was determined to sacrifice himself? The emperor asked Staps whether he could speak French, and he answered, that he could speak it very imperfectly, and as you know (continued Rapp) that next to you I am the best German scholar in Napoleon's court, I was appointed interpreter on this occasion. The emperor put the following questions to Staps, which I translated, together with the answers:

—'Where do you come from?'—'From Narremburgh.'—'What is your father?'—'A protestant minister.'—'How old are you?'—'Eighteen.'—'What did you intend to do with your knife?'—'To kill you.'—'You are mad, young man; you are one of the illuminati?'—'I am not mad: I know not what is meant by the illuminati!'—'You are ill, then?'—'I am not: I am very well.'—'Why did you wish to kill me?'—'Because you have ruined my country.'—'Have I done you any harm?'—'Yes, you have harmed me as well as all Germans.'—'By whom were you sent? Who urged you to this crime?'—'No one; I was urged to it by the sincere conviction, that by killing you, I should render the greatest service to my country.'—'Is this the first time you have seen me?'—'I saw you at Erfurt, at the time of your interview with the Emperor of Russia.'—'Did you intend to kill me then?'—'No; I thought you would not

again wage war against Germany. I was one of your greatest admirers.—‘How long have you been in Vienna?’—‘Ten days.’—‘Why did you wait so long before you attempted the execution of your project?’—‘I came to Schœnbrunn a week ago, with the intention of killing you; but when I arrived, the parade was just over; I therefore deferred the execution of my design till to-day.’—‘I tell you, young man, you are either mad or in bad health.’

“The emperor here ordered Corvisart to be sent for. Staps asked who Corvisart was? I told him that he was a physician. He then said, ‘I have no need of him.’ Nothing further was said until the arrival of the doctor, and during this interval Staps evinced the utmost indifference. When Corvisart arrived, Napoleon directed him to feel the young man’s pulse, which he immediately did; and Staps then very coolly said, ‘Am I not well, sir?’ Corvisart told the emperor that nothing ailed him. ‘I told you so,’ said Staps, pronouncing the words with an air of triumph.

“I was really astonished at the coolness and apathy of Staps, and the emperor seemed for a moment confounded by the young man’s behaviour. After a few moments’ pause, the emperor resumed the interrogatory as follows:

“‘Your brain is disordered. You will be the ruin of your family. I will grant you your life, if you ask pardon for the crime you meditated, and for which you ought to be sorry.’—‘I want no pardon. I only regret having failed in my attempt.’—‘Indeed! then a crime is nothing to you?’—‘To kill you is no crime: it is a duty.’—‘Whose portrait is that which was found on you?’—‘It is the portrait of a young lady to whom I am attached.’—‘She will doubtless be much distressed at your adventure?’—‘She will only be sorry that I have not succeeded. She abhors you as much as I do.’—‘But if I were to pardon you, would you be grateful for my mercy?’—‘I would, nevertheless, kill you, if I could.’

“‘I never,’ continued Rapp, ‘saw Napoleon look so confounded. The replies of Staps, and his immovable resolution, perfectly astonished him. He ordered the prisoner to be removed: and when he was gone Napoleon said, ‘This is the result of the secret societies which infest Germany. This is the effect of fine principles, and the light of reason. They make young men assassins. But what can be done against illuminism? A sect cannot be destroyed by cannon-balls.’

“This event, though pains were taken to keep it secret, became the subject of conversation in the castle of Schœnbrunn. In the evening the emperor sent for me, and said, ‘Rapp, the affair of this morning is very extraordinary. I cannot believe that this young man of himself conceived the design of assassinating me. There is something under it. I shall never be persuaded that the intriguers of Berlin and Weimar are strangers

to the affair.'—'Sire, allow me to say that your suspicions appear unfounded. Staps has had no accomplice; his placid countenance and even his fanaticism are evident proofs of that.'—'I tell you that he has been instigated by women; furies thirsting for revenge. If I could only obtain proof of it, I would have them seized in the midst of their court.'—'Ah, sire, it is impossible that either man or woman in the courts of Berlin or Weimar could have conceived so atrocious a design.'—'I am not sure of that. Did not those women excite Schill against us, while we were at peace with Prussia; but stay a little; we shall see.'—'Schill's enterprise, sire, bears no resemblance to this attempt.' You know how the emperor likes every one to yield to his opinion, when he has adopted one, which he does not choose to give up; so he said, rather changing his tone of good-humoured familiarity, 'All you say is in vain, Monsieur le Général: I am not liked either at Berlin or Weimar.'—'There is no doubt of that, sire; but because you are not liked in those two courts, is it to be inferred that they would assassinate you?'—'I know the fury of those women; but patience. Write to General Lauer: direct him to interrogate Staps. Tell him to bring him to a confession.'

"I wrote, conformably with the emperor's orders, but no confession was obtained from Staps. In his examination by General Lauer, he repeated nearly what he had said in the presence of Napoleon. His resignation and firmness never forsook him for a moment; and he persisted in saying that he was the sole author of the attempt, and that no one else was aware of it. Staps's enterprise made a deep impression on the emperor. On the day when we left Schœnbrunn, we happened to be alone, and he said to me, 'I cannot get this unfortunate Staps out of my mind. The more I think on the subject, the more I am perplexed. I never can believe that a young man of his age, a German, one who has received a good education, a Protestant too, could have conceived and attempted such a crime. The Italians are said to be a nation of assassins, but no Italian ever attempted my life. This affair is beyond my comprehension. Inquire how Staps died, and let me know.'

"I obtained from General Lauer the information which the emperor desired. I learned that Staps, whose attempt on the emperor's life was made on the 23d of October, was executed at seven o'clock in the morning on the 27th, having refused to take any sustenance since the 24th. When any food was brought to him, he rejected it, saying, 'I shall be strong enough to walk to the scaffold.' When he was told that peace was concluded, he evinced extreme sorrow, and was seized with trembling. On reaching the place of execution, he exclaimed, loudly, 'Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!'"

* "I wrote to General Lauer, requesting that he would give us an account of the conduct of Staps in his last moments. He informed me that the prisoner

Such are the notes which I committed to paper, after conversing with Rapp, as we were walking together in the garden of the old hotel of Montmorin, in which Rapp resided. I recollect his showing me the knife taken from Staps, which the emperor had given him: it was merely a common carving-knife, such as is used in kitchens. To these details may be added a very remarkable circumstance, which I received from another, but not less authentic source. I have been assured, that the attempt of the German Mutius Scævola, had a marked influence on the concessions which the emperor made, because he feared that Staps, like him who attempted the life of Porsenna, might have imitators among the illuminati of Germany.

It is well known that, after the battle of Wagram, conferences were opened at Raab. Although peace was almost absolutely necessary for both powers, and the two emperors appeared to desire it equally, it was not, however, concluded. It is worthy of remark, that the delay was occasioned by Bonaparte. Negotiations were therefore suspended; and M. de Champagny had ceased, for several days, to see the Prince of Lichtenstein, when the affair of Staps took place. Immediately after Napoleon's examination of the young fanatic, he sent for M. de Champagny. "How are the negotiations going on?" he inquired. The minister having informed him, the emperor added, "I wish them to be resumed immediately: I wish for peace; do not hesitate about a few millions, more or less, in the indemnity demanded from Austria. Yield on that point. I wish to come to a conclusion: I refer it all to you." The minister lost no time in writing to the Prince de Lichtenstein: on the same night the two negotiators met at Raab, and the clauses of the treaty, which had been suspended, were discussed, agreed upon, and signed that very night. Next morning, M. de Champagny attended the emperor's levee, with the treaty of peace, as it had been agreed on. Napoleon, after hastily examining it, expressed his approbation of every particular, and highly complimented his minister on the speed with which the treaty had been brought to a conclusion.

had been executed at seven in the morning of the 27th; that he had taken no sustenance since the 24th; that food had been offered to him, but that he had constantly refused it, because, as he said, he had sufficient strength to walk to the place of execution. He was informed that peace was concluded; and this intelligence seemed to agitate him. His last words were, '*Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!*' I delivered the report to Napoleon. He desired me to keep the knife that had been found upon the criminal: it is still in my possession."—*Memoirs of General Rapp.* (Editor.)

[This definitive treaty of peace, which is sometimes called the treaty of Presburg, and at others the treaty of Raab, contained the following articles :

1. Austria ceded in favour of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, Salzburg, Berchtolsgaden, and a part of Upper Austria.

2. To France directly, Austria ceded her only seaport, Trieste, and all the countries of Carniola, Friuli, the circle of Villach, with parts of Croatia and Dalmatia. (By these cessions Austria was excluded from the Adriatic sea, and cut off from all communication with the navy of Great Britain.) A small lordship, *enclavé* in the territories of the Grison league, was also given up.

3. To the constant ally of Napoleon, to the King of Saxony, in that character Austria ceded some territory in Bohemia, and, in his capacity of Grand Duke of Warsaw, she attached to his Polish dominions the ancient city of Cracow, and all Western Galicia.

4. Russia, who had entered with but a lukewarm zeal into the war as an ally of France, had a very moderate share of the spoils of Austria. A bit of Eastern Galicia, with a population of 400,000 souls was allotted to her, but in this allotment, the trading town of Brody (almost the only thing worth having) was specially excepted. This last circumstance gave no small degree of disgust to the Emperor Alexander, whose admiration of Napoleon was not destined to have a long date.—*Editor.*]

CHAPTER XIV.

1809.

Results of the union of the papal states with the empire—Bull of excommunication—Removal of the pope from Rome—Coincidences—Marshal Macdonald—The Princess Royal of Denmark—Destruction of the German empire—Napoleon's visit to the courts of Bavaria and Wirtemberg—His return to France—First mention of the divorce—Intelligence of Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa—Refusal of the Hanse Towns to pay the French troops—Napoleon's quarrel with Louis—Journey of the emperor and empress into Holland—Seeds of future war with Russia—Decree for burning English merchandise—Plan for turning an inevitable evil to the best account—Fall on the exchange of St. Petersburg.

I MUST now notice the unfortunate consequences of an event I mentioned in my last chapter, namely, the union of the states of the holy see with the French empire. As I was at Hamburg, I could not of course see what was passing in Rome; but I can place such reliance on the source whence I received the details

of what occurred there, that I do not hesitate to vouch for their correctness.

By a decree of the 17th of May, published by the emperor at the camp of Vienna, the papal states were united to the empire. Napoleon conceived that the court of Rome would humble the old power of the triple crown, to the new power of the crown of France, united to the iron crown; but Pius VII. reckoning, perhaps, without foundation, on his influence over the opinions of the age, thought he could renew those papal extravagances, to which in former times weak sovereigns had bent the knee. To a decree of aggression, Pius VII. opposed a bull of excommunication. I learned this strange resolution of the holy father through a commercial letter; but I still doubted the fact, until one of my agents, who had been directed to keep watch on the emigrants at Altona, brought me a copy of the bull; it had been given him by one of the emigrants, who was so far deceived by his address as to trust him.

I know not whether this important document, of which I kept a copy, has since been published, but as I have never seen it in print, I will subjoin it here:

By the authority of the Almighty God, the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own, we declare that you and all your co-operators, by the act you have just committed, have incurred excommunication, into which (according to the form of our apostolic bulls, which, on such occasions, are posted up in the frequented places in this city), we declare all those have fallen, who, since the last violent invasion of our city, on the 22d of February of the last year, have been guilty, either in Rome, or in the ecclesiastical states, of acts against which we have remonstrated, not only by the numerous protests made by our secretaries of state, who have been successively replaced, but still further in our two consistorial addresses of the 14th of March and the 11th of July, 1808. We also declare as excommunicated all those who were promoters, advisers, and counsellors, of those acts, or who ever has co-operated in their execution.

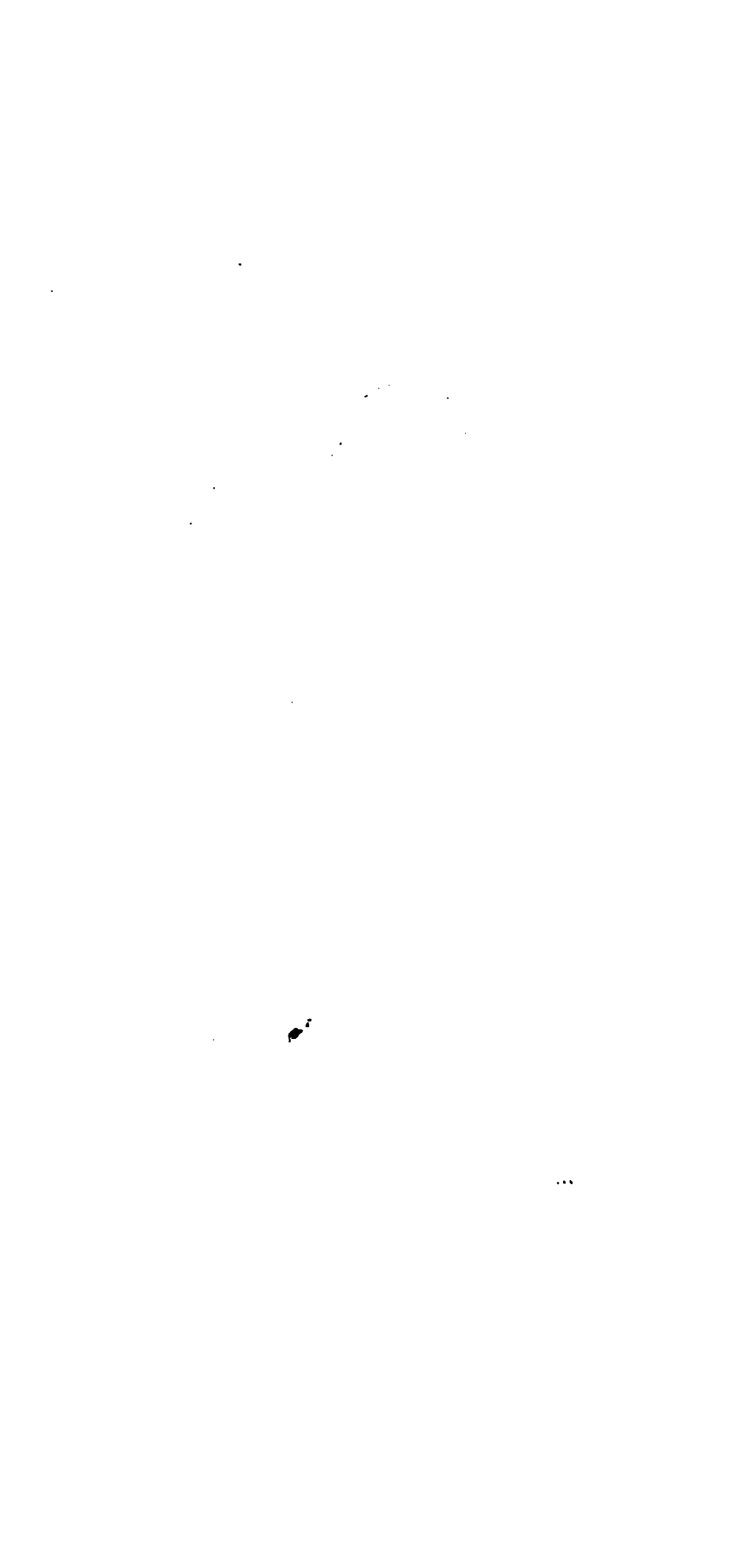
I learned afterwards that when the emperor, who was at Vienna, received intelligence of this moral opposition of the pope, and heard that the holy father had employed the only arms of which he could avail himself, he showed much anxiety as to the result. But Napoleon would never recede; especially when he had entered upon a wrong course. On the night of the 5th of July, the pope was removed from Rome by General Radet; and the unfortunate pontiff wandered from town to town, but none could receive the illustrious prisoner.* However much this proceeding was to be regretted and censured in all points of view, yet Heaven did not immediately avenge the wrongs committed against the head of the church; for the victory of Wagram took place the very day after the removal of the pope.

* For the true state of the case, see Addenda at the end of the present chapter. (Editor.)



Plus the Seventh

King R. VII.



During the campaign of Vienna I was struck with another coincidence which, under other circumstances, I should not have noticed. On the anniversary of the 14th of July, a day famous in the calendar of the revolution, for the taking of the Bastille and the Federation, another Federation, if I may so express myself, was formed on the field of battle. On that day, the type of French honour, Macdonald, who, after achieving a succession of prodigies, led the army of Italy into the heart of the Austrian states, was made a marshal on the field: Napoleon said to him, "With us it is, for life and for death." The general opinion was that the elevation of Macdonald added less to the marshal's military reputation than it redounded to the honour of the emperor.

About this time I had the pleasure of again seeing the son of the reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, whose arrival in the Hanse Towns was speedily followed by that of his sister, Princess Frederica Charlotte of Mecklenburg, married to the Prince Royal of Denmark, Christian Frederick. In November the princess arrived at Altona from Copenhagen; the reports circulated respecting her having compelled her husband to separate from her. The history of this princess, who, though perhaps blameable, was, nevertheless, much pitied, was the general subject of conversation in the north of Germany at the time I was at Hamburg. The King of Denmark, grieved at the publicity of the separation, wrote a letter on the subject to the Duke of Mecklenburg. In this letter, which I had an opportunity of seeing, the king expressed his regret at not having been able to prevent the scandal; for, on his return from a journey to Kiel, the affair had become so notorious that all attempts at reconciliation were vain. In the mean time it was settled that the princess was to remain at Altona until something should be decided respecting her future condition.

It was Baron Plessin, the Duke of Mecklenburg's minister of state, who favoured me with a sight of the King of Denmark's letters. M. Plessin told me, likewise, at the time, that the Duke had formed the irrevocable determination of not receiving his daughter. A few days after her arrival, the princess visited Madame de Bourrienne. She invited us to her parties, which were very brilliant, and several times did us the honour of being present at ours. But, unfortunately, the extravagance of her conduct, which was utterly unsuitable to her situation, soon became the subject of general animadversion.

I mentioned, at the close of the last chapter, how the promptitude of M. de Champagny brought about the conclusion of the treaty, known by the name of the treaty of Schoenbrunn. By this treaty the old edifice of the German empire was overthrown, and Francis II. became Francis I., Emperor of Austria. He, however, could not say, like his namesake of France, *tout est perdu fors l'honneur*; for honour was somewhat committed,

even had nothing else been lost. But the sacrifices Austria was compelled to make were great. The territories ceded to France were immediately united into a new general government, under the collective denomination of the Illyrian provinces. Napoleon thus became master of both sides of the Adriatic, by virtue of his twofold title of Emperor of France and King of Italy. Austria, whose external commerce thus received a check, had no longer any direct communication with the sea. The loss of Fiume, Trieste, and the sea-coast, appeared so vast a sacrifice, that it was impossible to look forward to the duration of a peace so dearly purchased.

The affair of Staps, perhaps, made Napoleon anxious to hurry away from Schoenbrunn, for he set off before he had ratified the preliminaries of the peace, announcing that he would ratify them at Munich. He proceeded in great haste, to Nymphenburg, where he was expected on a visit to the court of Bavaria. He next visited the King of Wirtemberg, whom he pronounced to be the cleverest sovereign in Europe, and at the end of October he arrived at Fontainebleau. From thence he proceeded on horseback to Paris, and he rode so rapidly, that only a single chasseur of his escort could keep up with him, and, attended by this one guard, he entered the court of the Tuileries. While Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, before his return to Paris, Josephine, for the first time, heard the divorce mentioned; the idea had occurred to the emperor's mind while he was at Schoenbrunn.* It was also while at Fontainebleau that Napoleon ap-

* This is confirmed by the testimony of Savary, who says —

“Napoleon often reflected on the best mode of making this communication to the empress; still he was reluctant to speak to her. He was apprehensive of the consequences of her susceptibility of feeling: his heart was never proof against the shedding of tears. He thought, however, that a favourable opportunity offered for breaking the subject previously to his quitting Fontainebleau. He hinted at it in a few words which he had addressed to the empress, but did not explain himself until the arrival of the viceroy, whom he had ordered to join him. He was the first person who spoke openly to his mother, and obtained her consent for that bitter sacrifice. He acted on the occasion like a kind son, and a man grateful to his benefactor, and devoted to his service, by sparing him the necessity of unpleasant explanations towards a partner whose removal was a sacrifice as painful to him as it was affecting. The emperor having arranged whatever related to the future condition of the empress, upon whom he made a liberal settlement, urged the moment of the dissolution of the marriage, no doubt because he felt grieved at the condition of the empress herself, who dined every day, and passed her evenings in the presence of persons who were witnessing her descent from the throne. There existed between him and the Empress Josephine no other bond than a civil act, according to the custom which prevailed at the time of this marriage. Now the laws had foreseen the dissolution of such marriage contracts. A particular day having therefore been fixed upon, the emperor brought together into his apartments those persons whose ministry was required in this case: amongst others, the arch-chancellor and M. Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély. The emperor then declared in a loud voice his intention of annulling the marriage he had contracted with Josephine, who was present: the empress also made the same declaration, which was interrupted by her repeated sobs,

pointed M. de Montalivet to be minister of the interior. The letters which we received from Paris at this period brought intelligence of the brilliant state of the capital during the winter of 1809, and especially of the splendour of the imperial court, where the emperor's levees were attended by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg, all eager to evince their gratitude to the hero who had raised them to the sovereign rank.

I was the first person in Hamburg who received intelligence of Napoleon's projected marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. The news was brought to me from Vienna by two estafettes. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by the anticipation of this event throughout the north of Germany. From all parts the merchants received orders to buy Austrian stock, in which an extraordinary rise immediately took place. Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa was hailed with enthusiastic and general joy. The event was regarded as the guarantee of a long peace, and it was hoped there would be a lasting cessation of the disasters created by the rivalry of France and Austria. The correspondence I received showed that these sentiments were general in the interior of France, and in different countries of Europe; and in spite of the presentiments I had always had of the return of the Bourbons to France, I now began, to think that event problematic, or at least very remote.*

About the beginning of the year 1810, commenced the differences between Napoleon and his brother Louis, which, as I have already stated, ended in a complete rupture. Napoleon's object was to make himself master of the navigation of the Scheldt, which Louis wished should remain free, and hence ensued the union of Holland with the French empire. Holland was the first province of the grand empire which Napoleon took the new empress to visit. This visit took place almost immediately after the marriage. Napoleon first proceeded to Compiègne, where he remained a week. He next set out for Saint-Quentin, and inspected the canal. The empress Maria Louisa then joined him, and they both proceeded to Belgium. At Antwerp the emperor inspected all the works which he had ordered, and to the execution of which he attached great importance. He returned by way of Ostend, Lille, and Normandy, to Saint-Cloud, where he arrived on the 1st of June, 1810. He then learned from my correspondence, that the Hanse Towns refused to advance money for the pay of the French troops. The men were absolutely destitute. I declared

The prince arch-chancellor having caused the article of the law to be read, he applied it to the case before him, and declared the marriage to be dissolved."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo. (Editor.)*

* As M. de Bourrienne passes over in silence the ceremonies which attended Napoleon's marriage, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter for Savary's concise account of Maria Louisa's arrival in France, and the ceremonies at Saint-Cloud and the Tuileries.—*Editor.*

that it was urgent to put an end to this state of things. The Hanse Towns had been reduced from opulence to misery, by taxation and exactions, and were absolutely unable to maintain the unjust burden now imposed upon them.

Napoleon was still involved in his war against Spain and England. His wish to make peace with the latter power gave rise to several intrigues, by no means of the most dignified kind; but all his efforts failed. The perspective of continued war produced an ill effect every where, but especially in Holland, where the prevailing misery was likely to be augmented by an indefinite prolongation of the restrictions on trade. The question as to what was to become of Holland, was now decided by possession; but it was easy to perceive that the Dutch would seek an opportunity of throwing off the ruinous yoke which France had imposed upon them, and would throw themselves on the protection of the first power that might offer to deliver them. Napoleon had united Holland to the empire, in order to prevent that country from falling under the dominion of the English; but how many interests were violated by that measure. The centre of commercial relations thus attacked in its very foundation, caused a general shock. The union was satisfactory to nobody; but it served to open the eyes of the great powers. It cannot be doubted, that the union of Holland with the empire, was an obstacle to the wished-for peace with England. It was a prelude to the union of the Hanse Towns which disposed Russia to those hostilities necessary to preserve her from ruin.

The summer of 1810 passed away very calmly in the Hanse Towns. However, some apprehensions were entertained for the future, and whenever a new decree, or *senatus consultum*, announced the union of new provinces to the empire, the most clear-sighted persons were not without alarm for the fate which must inevitably await the Hanse Towns. During the same year Napoleon, in a fit of madness, issued a decree which I cannot characterize by any other epithet than infernal. I allude to the decree for burning all the English merchandise in France, Holland, the Grand Duchy of Berg, the Hanse Towns; in short, in all places subject to the disastrous dominion of Napoleon. In the interior of France, no idea could possibly be formed of the desolation caused by this measure in countries which existed by commerce; and what a spectacle was it to the destitute inhabitants of those countries to witness the destruction of property which, had it been distributed, would have assuaged their misery?

One duty with which I was intrusted, and to which great importance was attached, was the application and execution of the disastrous continental system in the north. In my correspondence I did not conceal the dissatisfaction which this ruinous measure excited, and the emperor's eyes were at length opened on the subject by the following circumstance. In spite of the

sincerity with which the Danish government professed to enforce the continental system, Holstein contained a great quantity of colonial produce; and, notwithstanding the measures of severity, it was necessary that that merchandise should find a market somewhere. The smugglers often succeeded in introducing it into Germany, and the whole would probably soon have passed the custom-house limits. All things considered, I thought it advisable to make the best of an evil that could not be avoided. I therefore proposed, that the colonial produce then in Holstein, and which had been imported before the date of the edict for its prohibition, should be allowed to enter Hamburg on the payment of thirty, and on some articles, forty per cent. This duty was to be collected at the custom-house, and was to be confined entirely to articles consumed in Germany. The colonial produce in Altona, Gluckstadt, Husum, and other towns of Holstein, had been estimated at about thirty millions of francs, and the duty would amount to ten or twelve millions. The adoption of the plan I proposed would naturally put a stop to smuggling; for it could not be doubted, that the merchants would give thirty or thirty-three per cent. for the right of carrying on a lawful trade, rather than give forty per cent. to the smugglers, with the chance of seizure.

The emperor immediately adopted my idea; for I transmitted my suggestions to the minister for foreign affairs on the 18th of September, and on the 4th of October, a decree was issued conformable to the plan I proposed. Within six weeks after the decree came into operation, the custom-house director received thirteen hundred declarations from persons holding colonial produce in Holstein. It now appeared that the duties would amount to forty millions of francs, that is to say, twenty-eight or thirty millions more than my estimate.

Bernadotte had just been nominated Prince Royal of Sweden. This nomination, with all the circumstances connected with it, as well as Bernadotte's residence in Hamburg, before he proceeded to Stockholm, will be particularly noticed in the next chapter. I merely mention the circumstance here, to explain some events which took place in the north, and which were, more or less, directly connected with it. For example, in the month of September, the course of exchange on St. Petersburg suddenly fell. All the letters which arrived in Hamburg, from the capital of Russia and from Riga, attributed the fall to the election of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, as Prince Royal of Sweden. Of thirty letters which I received, there was not one but described the consternation which the event had created in St. Petersburg. This consternation, however, might have been excited less by the choice of Sweden, than by the fear that that choice was influenced by the French government.

SEIZURE OF THE POPE.

The account of the rude and forcible seizure of the Pope, given by Carlo Botta, is as true and correct as it is striking. We have known many persons at Rome who were acquainted with all the facts as they occurred.

"Having pronounced his sentence, Pius retired to the innermost chambers of his palace to pray and to wait events. He caused the gates to be carefully locked up, and the private doorways of the Quirinal palace to be all walled up in order that the French should not be able to penetrate to his presence without a manifest violation of his dwelling. The men of Napoleon informed their master of the anger of the Pope, and begged that he would order what steps they ought to take with him. Bonaparte answered that they must make Pius revoke his bull, accept his offered pension of two millions of francs, and in case of an obstinate refusal, to arrest him and carry him off to France. This harsh command found harsh executors. On the night of the 5th of July, thief-takers, thieves, convicts, and with them (a thing almost incredible!) generals and soldiers of Napoleon went to violate and break open the palace of the Pope. The commoner scoundrels,—the thief-catchers, and the rest, climbed over the outer walls of the Quirinal, and opened the gates to the troops. They burst open the interior gates, they forced the doors from their hinges, they cut through walls: this nocturnal rumour spread from apartment to apartment, until it reached the inmost recesses of the assaulted Quirinal; and the darkness of night increased the terror of the scene. Awakened from their sleep, the servants of the Pope trembled: Pius alone preserved a perfect firmness. Cardinal Pacca was with him, and they prayed together, and mutually comforted each other. As they were thus engaged, the adherents of Bonaparte forced open all the doors, rushed into the room of the innocent and persecuted Pontiff. He in haste put on his pontifical robes, in order to show to the world the violation not merely exercised on his person, but on his rank and dignity. Radet, a general of Napoleon's gendarmerie, entered the room by force, and was followed by a certain Diana, who had a very narrow escape from the guillotine at Paris, for being concerned in a plot against Napoleon's life with the sculptor Ceracchi, and who now had not merely entered Napoleon's service, but engaged in serving him in the most iniquitous act that had been committed for a long time. Radet, in obedience to his emperor's orders, immediately announced the conditions to the Pope. Pius rejected them, not haughtily, but mildly and decidedly. He then told Radet that he pardoned *him* as being only the executor of his master's orders, but turning to Diana, he said he wondered

that one of his own born subjects should thus dare to appear before him and insult his dignity;—and then he added that he pardoned even Diana. The Pope next declared to be null and of no avail all that the French government had done and was then doing against himself, the states of the church, and the Roman See. He said he was prepared for all things—that they might do with him what they liked—even lead him to instant execution, seeing that an innocent man had nothing to fear. At this point he took in one hand his crucifix, in the other his breviary (all that remained to him of so much grandeur), and followed the bad men who had broken into his palace. Radet asked him to give the names of such of his faithful friends or attendants as he wished should accompany him: he gave them, but not one of those friends was allowed to accompany him. Even the Cardinal Pacca was forcibly dragged from his arms. He was then with tumultuous hurry, and in the midst of armed men, forced into a carriage that drove off at full speed towards Tuscany. The only person that went in the coach with him was Radet. While these nocturnal and unworthy actions were a doing in the pontifical palace, General Miollis, the French governor of Rome, was abroad in the town to watch the proceedings, and receive regular reports of the progress of the nefarious transaction. The general was not without some fear of a popular rising in favour of the Pope, and for this reason he had chosen the dead of night, had recommended speed, and had called in 2000 Neapolitans of the army of Murat, under pretext that they were marching for Upper Italy.

“Rome was filled with stupor and horror, when, as the day dawned, the news was spread. The gaolers of the Pope drove him on in the utmost rapidity with post-horses, in order to get him out of Italy before the intelligence should get in advance of them among the people. So much did the master of all arms dread a religious opinion. The gendarmes escorted from station to station the captive but still potent Pius VII. On approaching Genoa, fearing his presence might create an insurrection among the peasantry and sailors of the Riviera di Levante, they embarked him in a small boat that had come from Tuscany. The pontiff asked his gaolers if it was the intention of the French government to drown him: they answered that it was not the case. As soon as he set foot on shore at Genoa, they shut him up in a carriage already prepared, and threatened to shoot the postilions if they did not gallop all the way. He was allowed breathing-time in Alessandria, as that was a strong fortress full of French soldiery. They then hurried him across the plain of Piedmont with the rapidity of lightning. At Saint Ambrogio di Susa, they had ordered horses to be put out, with instructions to go on faster than they had come; but worn out with age and grief, and the fatigues of the journey, the Pope asked them whether Napoleon wished to have him

dead or alive. They answered, alive. "If it be so," said the Pope, "we must remain this night where we are." It was deemed necessary to comply with this request. The next day he was carried across Mount Cenis. The Italian people not having been able, on account of the rapidity of his progress, to venerate the pontiff when he was present, venerated him when he was far away, piously visiting the places he had stopped at, the places through which he had passed; and they called these spots sacred from his misfortunes, his dignity, and his sanctity. These were seeds of destruction for Napoleon: already the predictions of Pius were beginning to be verified, and the fulness of time was approaching. The faithful Cardinal Pacca was carried off to the mountain fortress of Pignard, the sad sojourn of so many innocent men who incurred Napoleon's displeasure.

"After his arrival in France, the Pope was allowed to remain for some days in Grenoble, and then forced to set off again on his travels. They made him pass, as if there had been no other road, through Valence in Dauphiny, the place where Pius VI. had died—an act the more rude and cruel because wholly unnecessary. They then conducted him by way of Avignon, Aix, [and Nice, to Savona, a town not far from Genoa. This was a strange roundabout journey from Rome through France to Savona! But his departure was concealed, and the way he was to take was a mystery to all except those who saw him here and there."—*Storia d' Italia*, tomo iv.

It will be remembered that Pius VI., the immediate predecessor of the old Pope in question, had been forcibly carried off in 1799, by the French republicans to Valence, where he died not less from persecution than from age.—*Editor*.

MARRIAGE WITH MARIA LOUISA.

Cherishing for General Lauristan, formerly his aide-de-camp, a friendship of very long standing, Napoleon commissioned him to proceed to Vienna, and to accompany the empress to Paris as the captain of his body guard. With the view of honouring the memory of Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, he appointed his widow to be a lady of honour to the new empress, finding it impossible to bestow upon her a more signal proof of his esteem; for she had not at that time any claim to entitle her to a situation which was to place her, all at once, at the head of the highest society.

He sent his sister, the Queen of Naples, as far as Braunaw, with four ladies of honour, to meet the empress. We had then in Braunaw the corps of Marshal Davoust, who was completing the measure of evacuating Austria. This corps was placed under arms upon the arrival of the empress, and gave her as brilliant a reception as the means of so small a town could afford. The Queen of Naples re-



Engraving, 1805.

Engraving, 1805.

The Empress Marie Louise

London, Published by Richard Dering, 1805.

ceived the empress at Braunaw, where the ceremony took place of delivering up her majesty by the officers whom her father had appointed to accompany her, as well as of the delivery of her effects; and, as soon as the empress had clothed herself in the garments brought in the wardrobe from Paris, she passed over the frontier with the ladies of the palace who were in attendance, and gave audience of leave to all those who had accompanied her from Vienna, and were about to return. All this was accomplished within an hour from the time of her arrival at Braunaw.

She departed immediately for Munich, Augsburg, Stutgard, Carlsruhe, and Strasburg, and was received with great splendour at all the foreign courts, and at Strasburg with great enthusiasm. So many hopes were interwoven with the marriage, that her arrival was sincerely greeted by all.

The emperor had gone as far as Compiègne to receive her, the court being then at that residence. He wrote to her every day by a page, who went off at full speed with his letters, and as quickly brought back her replies. I recollect that the emperor having dropped the envelope of the first letter, it was instantly picked up, and handed about the saloon as a specimen of the handwriting of the empress: the eagerness to see it was as great as if her portrait had been exhibited. The pages who came from her were tormented with questions. We had, in short, been transformed at once into courtiers as assiduous as our ancestors in the days of Louis XIV., and would scarcely have been taken for the men who had laid so many nations prostrate at their feet.

The emperor was no less impatient than ourselves, and much more interested in knowing what more peculiarly concerned him; he really appeared love-stricken. He had ordered that the route of the empress should be by way of Nancy, Chalons, Rheims, and Soissons, and could almost point out, at any hour of the day, the progress she had then made.

On the day of her arrival he took his departure in a plain carriage, with no other attendant than the grand marshal, after giving his instructions to Marshal Bessières, who remained at Compiègne.

He travelled on the road of Soissons and Rheims, until he met the carriage of the empress, which was suddenly stopped by his courier. The emperor alighted, ran up to the door of the empress's carriage, opened it himself, and stepped in. On perceiving the astonishment of the empress, who knew not the meaning of this abruptness in a stranger, the Queen of Naples said to her, "Madam, this is the emperor." He returned to Compiègne in their company.

Marshal Bessières had ordered out all the cavalry quartered near the palace, and advanced with it and with the general officers and the emperor's aides-de-camp on the road to Soissons, as far as a well-known stone bridge, the name of which I do not recollect; at the same bridge Louis XV. had met the dauphiness, daughter of Maria Theresa, afterwards the unhappy Queen of France.

The people of Compiègne had succeeded in making their way to the porch of the palace, where they ranged themselves in a double line. The empress, on her arrival, was received at the foot of the principal staircase by the mother and family of the emperor, the whole

court, the ministers, and several personages of the highest rank. It is superfluous to name the person who attracted the attention of every one from the moment the carriage-door was opened until the entrance into the apartments. No court was held that night, and all the company withdrew at an early hour.

According to the etiquette observed at foreign courts, the emperor was no doubt married to the Archduchess Maria Louisa: not so, however, with reference to our civil code; nevertheless, it is said that he followed the example of Henry IV. on his marriage with Maria of Medicis. I am only repeating here the illiberal remarks made the next morning, because I am pledged to speak the truth. The world claimed the privilege of seeing and knowing every thing: as to myself, what I actually saw afforded me nothing to cavil at, notwithstanding the prevailing rumours. Had it, however, been my case, I should have followed the precedent of Henry IV. on this occasion. It happened to be my turn to sleep that night in the apartment of the officers in attendance. The emperor had left the palace and retired to the chancellor's residence; and if the report had been brought to me that all Paris was on fire, I should not have attempted to disturb his repose, under the apprehension that he might not be found at that residence.

The next was a very fatiguing day for the young empress, because presentations were made of persons wholly unknown to her, by individuals with whom she was not much more acquainted.

The emperor himself presented to her his aides-de-camp, who felt highly gratified at this condescending mark of his regard; the lady of honour presented the ladies of the palace and others who were to form her retinue.

The emperor proceeded with the empress to St. Cloud on the day after the public presentation, the attendants of both households followed them in separate carriages. They did not pass through Paris, but took the road to St. Denis, the Bois de Boulogne, and St. Cloud: all the authorities of Paris had repaired to the boundary of the department of the Seine, in the direction of Compiègne, and were followed by a great part of the population, who gave themselves up to the joy and enthusiasm which the occasion naturally created.

An immense crowd had collected at St. Cloud to greet her arrival; first, the princesses of the imperial family, amongst whom were the Vice-queen of Italy, who was then making her first appearance in Paris, the Princess of Baden, the dignitaries, the marshals of France, the senators, and the councillors of state. It was broad daylight when the imperial retinue reached St. Cloud.

The ceremony of the civil marriage did not take place till two days afterwards, in the gallery of the palace at St. Cloud. A platform was raised at the extremity of the gallery, with a table and arm-chairs upon it for the imperial couple, as well as chairs and stools for the princes and princesses of his family: none were present at the ceremony except the persons attached to the respective courts. When all the preliminary arrangements had been gone through, the cortège moved forward from the apartments of the empress, and crossing the grand apartments and the saloon of Hercules, entered the gallery, where it was arranged on the platform in the order laid down by the

rules of etiquette. The place of every one had been determined beforehand, so that in an instant the utmost order and silence pervaded the assembly.

The arch-chancellor stood near a table with a rich velvet covering over it, upon which was a register held by Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, the secretary of the imperial family's household. After taking the emperor's orders, the prince arch-chancellor put the following question to him in a loud voice: "Sire, is it your Majesty's intention to take for your lawful wife her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, here present?"—"Yes, sir," was the emperor's answer. The arch-chancellor then addressed the empress: "Madam," he said, "does your Imperial Highness, of your own free consent, take the Emperor Napoleon, here present, for your lawful husband?"—"Yes, sir," she replied. The arch-chancellor proceeded then to declare, in the name of the law, and of the institutions of the empire, that his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria were duly united in marriage. Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély presented the act for signature, first to the emperor, afterwards to the empress, and lastly to all the members of the family, as well as to the different personages whose official ranks entitled them to this honourable privilege.

Next morning, the imperial couple left St. Cloud in a carriage drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, preceded by an empty carriage drawn by eight gray horses, which was intended for the empress; thirty other carriages with a ground of gold, and drawn by superb horses, completed the cortège; these were filled with the ladies and officers of the household, and by those whose employments gave them the privilege of being admitted to the imperial presence. The train left St. Cloud between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and was escorted by the whole of the cavalry; it passed through the Bois de Boulogne, the Gate of Maillot, the Champs Elysées, the Place de la Révolution, to the garden of the Tuileries, where all the carriages passed under the peristyle, and stopped, to enable the company to descend and enter the palace.

From the iron railing of the court of the palace of St. Cloud, both sides of the road were lined with so dense a mass of people, that the population of the adjacent country must have flocked to St. Cloud and Paris on the occasion.

The crowd increased on approaching Paris; from the barrier to the palace of the Tuileries it baffled all calculation. Orchestras were placed at stated distances along the Champs Elysées, and played a variety of airs. France appeared to revel in a delight bordering upon frenzy. Many were the protestations of fidelity and attachment made to the emperor; and whosoever had ventured to predict at that time what has since come to pass, would have been scouted as a madman.

When all the carriages had arrived, the cortège resumed its order of etiquette in the gallery of Diana at the Tuileries, and proceeded through a passage expressly constructed for the occasion, and terminating at the gallery of the Museum, which it entered by the door near the Pavilion of Flora.

Here began a new spectacle: both sides of that immense gallery

were lined from one end to the other with a triple row of Parisian ladies of the middling class: nothing could be compared to the variegated scene presented by that assemblage of ladies, whose youthful bloom shone forth more dazzling than their elegant attire.

A balustrade extended along both sides of the gallery, in order to prevent any one from passing beyond a certain line, and the middle of this fine edifice was thus free and unobstructed, so as to admit of a passage for the cortège which moved along, and afforded a feast to the eyes as far as the very altar. The vast saloon at the end of the gallery, where the exhibition of paintings generally took place, had been converted into a chapel. Its circuit was lined by a triple row of splendidly ornamented boxes, filled with the most elegant and distinguished ladies then in Paris. The grand master of the ceremonies assigned to the persons composing the cortège their proper places as they arrived in the chapel. The strictest order was observed during the whole of this ceremony. Mass was performed by his eminence Cardinal Fesch, after which the marriage ceremony took place.—

*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.**

DECREE ANNEXING HOLLAND TO FRANCE.

Palace of Rambouillet, July 9, 1810.

We, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, &c., have decreed, and hereby decree as follows:

Title I.—Art. 1. Holland is united to France. 2. The city of Amsterdam shall be the third city of the empire. 3. Holland shall have six senators, six deputies to the Council of State, twenty-five deputies to the Legislative Body, and two judges in the Court of Cassation. 4. The officers by sea and land, of whatever rank, shall be confirmed in their employments. Commissions shall be delivered to them, signed with our hand. The Royal Guard shall be united to our Imperial Guard.

Title II.—Of the Administration for 1810.—5. The Duke of Placentia, Arch-treasurer of the Empire, shall repair to Amsterdam in the capacity of our Lieutenant-general. He shall preside in the Council of Ministers, and attend to the despatch of business. His functions shall cease the 1st of January, 1811, the period when the French Administration shall commence. 6. All the public functionaries, of whatever rank, are confirmed in their employments.

Title III.—Of the Finances.—7. The present contributions shall continue to be levied until the 1st of January, 1811, at which period the country shall be put on the same footing as for the rest of the empire. 8. The budget of receipts and disbursements shall be submitted to our approbation before the 1st of August next. Only one—

* For many interesting details, most admirably written, respecting Bonaparte's divorce from Josephine, and the circumstances that immediately preceded the divorce, see the *Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantes*.—*Editor*.

third of the present amount of interest upon the public debt shall be carried to the account of expenditure for 1810. The interest of the debt for 1808 and 1809, not yet paid, shall be reduced to one-third, and charged on the budget of 1810. 9. The custom-houses on the frontier, other than those of France, shall be organized under the superintendence of our Director general of the Custom-houses. The Dutch custom-houses shall be incorporated therewith. The line of custom-houses now on the French frontier shall be kept up until the 1st of January, 1811, when it shall be removed, and the communication of Holland with the empire become free. 10. The colonial produce actually in Holland, shall remain in the hands of the owners upon paying a duty of 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. A declaration of the amount shall be made before the 1st of September, at furthest. The said merchandise, upon payment of the duties, may be imported into France, and circulated through the whole extent of the empire.

Title IV.—11. There shall be at Amsterdam a special Administration, presided over by one of our Councillors of State, which shall have the superintendence of, and the necessary funds to provide for, the repairs of the dykes, polders, and other public works.

Title V.—12. In the course of the present month there shall be nominated, by the Legislative Body of Holland, a Commission of fifteen members, to proceed to Paris, in order to constitute a council whose business shall be to regulate definitively all that relates to the public and local debts, and to conciliate the principles of the union with the localities and interests of the country. 13. Our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) By the EMPEROR NAPOLEON.
(Signed) The Minister Secretary of State,
H. B. DUKE OF BASSANO.

CHAPTER XV.

1809—1810.

Bernadotte elected Prince Royal of Sweden—Count Wrede's overtures to Bernadotte—Bernadotte's three days' visit to Hamburg—Particulars respecting the battle of Wagram—Secret order of the day—Last intercourse of the Prince Royal of Sweden with Napoleon—My advice to Bernadotte respecting the continental system.

I now come to one of the periods of my life to which I look back with most satisfaction:—I allude to the time when Bernadotte was with me in Hamburg. I will briefly relate the series of events which led the opposer of the 18th Brumaire to the throne of Sweden.

On the 13th of March, 1809, Gustavus Adolphus was arrested, and his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, provisionally

took the reins of government. A few days afterwards, Gustavus published his act of abdication, which in the state of Sweden it was impossible for him to refuse. In May following, the Swedish Diet having been convoked at Stockholm, the Duke of Sudermania was elected king. Christian Augustus, the only son of that monarch, of course became prince royal on the accession of his father to the throne. He, however, died suddenly at the end of May, 1810, and Count Fersen, the same who at the court of Marie-Antoinette was distinguished by the appellation of *le beau Fersen*, was massacred by the populace, who suspected, perhaps unjustly, that he had been accessory to the prince's death. On the 20th of August following, Bernadotte was elected Prince Royal of Sweden.

After the death of the prince royal, the Duke of Sudermania's son, Count Wrede, a Swede, made the first overtures to Bernadotte, and announced to him, the intention entertained at Stockholm of offering him the throne of Sweden. Bernadotte was at that time in Paris, and immediately after his first interview with Count Wrede, he waited on the emperor at Saint-Cloud; Napoleon coolly replied, that he could be of no service to him; that events must take their course; that he might accept or refuse the offer as he chose; that he (Bonaparte) would place no obstacles in his way, but that he could give him no advice. It was very evident that the choice of Sweden was not very agreeable to Bonaparte, and though he afterwards disavowed any opposition to it, he made overtures to Stockholm, proposing that the crown of Sweden should be added to that of Denmark.

Bernadotte then went to the waters of Plombières, and on his return to Paris he sent me a letter announcing his elevation to the rank of Prince Royal of Sweden.

On the 11th of October he arrived in Hamburg, where he stayed only three days. He passed nearly the whole of that time with me, and he communicated to me many curious facts connected with the secret history of the times, and among other things some particulars respecting the battle of Wagram. I was the first to mention to the new Prince Royal of Sweden the reports of the doubtful manner in which the troops, under his command, behaved. I reminded him of Bonaparte's dissatisfaction at these troops: for there was no doubt of the emperor being the author of the complaints contained in the bulletins, especially as he had withdrawn the troops from Bernadotte's command. Bernadotte assured me that Napoleon's censure was unjust: during the battle he had complained of the little spirit manifested by the soldiers. "He refused to see me," added Bernadotte, "and I was told, as a reason for his refusal, that he was astonished and displeased to find, that notwithstanding his complaints, of which I must have heard, I had boasted of having gained the battle; and had publicly complimented the Saxons, whom I commanded."

Bernadotte then showed me the bulletin he drew up after the battle of Wagram. I remarked that I had never heard of a bulletin being made by any other than the general who was commander-in-chief during a battle, and I asked how the affair ended. He then handed to me a copy of the order of the day, which Napoleon said he had sent only to the marshals commanding the different corps. As this remarkable document is but little known, I may subjoin it here.

"ORDER OF THE DAY.

"Imperial camp of Schönbrunn, July 9, 1809.

"His majesty expresses his displeasure at the Prince de Ponte-Corvo's order, dated Leopoldstadt, July 7th, and inserted on the same day in nearly all the newspapers, in the following terms: 'Saxons, on the 5th of July, seven or eight thousand of you pierced the enemy's centre, and marched on Deutsch-Wagram in spite of the efforts of 40,000 men, supported by sixty pieces of artillery. You fought till midnight, and bivouacked in the midst of the Austrian lines. On the 6th, at daybreak, you recommenced the battle with the same perseverance, and, in the midst of the ravages of the enemy's artillery, your columns stood firm as iron. The great Napoleon witnessed your courage, and reckons you among his bravest troops. Saxons, the fortune of a soldier consists in fulfilling his duty; you have nobly fulfilled yours.'

"BERNADOTTE.

'Bivouac at Leopoldstadt, July 7, 1809.'

"Independently of his majesty having commanded his army in person, it is for him alone to award the degree of glory each has merited. His majesty owes the success of his arms to the French troops, and to no foreigners. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo's order of the day has a tendency to inspire false pretensions in troops, whose merit does not rise above mediocrity; it is at variance with truth, policy, and national honour. The success of the 5th is due to the Duke de Rivoli and Marshal Oudinot, who penetrated the enemy's centre, at the same time that the Duke of Auerstadt's corps turned his left. The village of Deutsch-Wagram was not taken on the 5th, but on the 6th, by the corps of Marshal Oudinot. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo did not stand as *firm as iron*. He was the first to retreat. His majesty was obliged to order the corps of the viceroy to be covered by the divisions of Broussier and Lamarque, commanded by Marshal Macdonald, by the division of heavy cavalry, commanded by General Nansouty, and by a part of the cavalry of the guard. To Marshal Macdonald and his troops is due the merit which the Prince de Ponte-Corvo takes to himself. His majesty hopes that this expression of his displeasure will henceforth deter any marshal from appropriating to himself the glory which belongs to others. His majesty, however, desires that the present order of the day, which may possibly be mortifying to the Saxon troops, though they must be aware that they are not entitled to the praises bestowed on them, shall remain secret, and be sent only to the marshals commanding the army corps.

"NAPOLEON."

Bernadotte's bulletin was printed along with Bonaparte's order of the day, a thing quite unparalleled.*

Though I was much interested in this account of Bonaparte's conduct after the battle of Wagram, yet I was more curious to hear the particulars of Bernadotte's last communication with the emperor. The prince informed me, that on his return from Plombières, he attended the levee, when the emperor asked him, before every one present, whether he had received any recent news from Sweden. He replied in the affirmative. "What is it?" inquired Napoleon.—"Sire, I am informed that your majesty's chargé-d'affaires at Stockholm opposes my election. It is also reported to those who choose to believe it, that your majesty gives the preference to the King of Denmark." "At these words," continued Bernadotte, "the emperor affected surprise, which you know he can do very artfully. He assured me it was impossible, and then turned the conversation to another subject. I know not what to think of his conduct in this affair. I am aware he does not like me; but the interests of his policy may render him favourable to Sweden. Considering the present greatness and power of France, I conceived it to be my duty to make every personal sacrifice. But I swear to Heaven that I will never commit the honour of Sweden. He, however, expressed himself in the best possible terms in speaking of Charles XIII. and me. He at first started no obstacle to my acceptance of the succession to the throne of Sweden, and he ordered the official announcement of my election to be immediately inserted in the *Moniteur*. Ten days elapsed without the emperor's saying a word to me about my departure. As I was anxious to be off, and all my preparations were made, I determined to go and ask him for the letters patent, to relieve me from my oath of fidelity, which I had certainly kept faithfully in spite of all his ill-treatment of me. He at first appeared somewhat surprised at my request, and, after a little hesitation, he said, "There is a preliminary condition to be fulfilled; a question has been raised by one of the members of the privy council.—'What condition, sire?'—'You must pledge yourself not to bear arms against me.'—'Does your majesty suppose that I can bind myself by such an engagement?' My election by the diet of Sweden, which has met with your majesty's assent, has made me a Swedish subject, and that character is incompatible with the pledge proposed by a member of the council. I am sure it could never have emanated from your majesty, and must proceed from the arch-chancellor, or the grand judge, who certainly could not have been aware of the height to which the

* For Savary's version of the difference which arose between Bonaparte and Bernadotte at Wagram, together with some interesting anecdotes connected with the battle, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

proposition would raise me.—What do you mean?—“If, sire, you prevent me accepting a crown, unless I pledge myself not to bear arms against you, do you not really place me on a level with you as a general?”

“Whenever I declared positively that my election must make me consider myself a Swedish subject, he frowned, and seemed embarrassed. When I had done speaking, he said, in a low and faltering voice, ‘Well, go. Our destinies will soon be accomplished.’ These words were uttered so indistinctly, that I was obliged to beg pardon for not having heard what he said, and he repeated, ‘Go! our destinies will soon be accomplished.’” In the subsequent conversations which I had with the emperor, I tried all possible means to remove the unfavourable sentiments he cherished towards me. I revived my recollections of history. I spoke to him of the great men who had excited the admiration of the world, of the difficulties and obstacles which they had to surmount; and, above all, I dwelt upon that solid glory which is founded on the establishment and maintenance of public tranquillity and happiness. The emperor listened to me attentively, and frequently concurred in my opinion as to the principles of the prosperity and stability of states. One day, he took my hand, and pressed it affectionately, as if to assure me of his friendship and protection. Though I knew him to be an adept in the art of dissimulation, yet his affected kindness appeared so natural, that I thought all his unfavourable feeling towards me was at an end. I spoke to persons by whom our two families were allied, requested that they would assure the emperor of the reciprocity of my sentiments, and tell him, that I was ready to assist his great plans in any way not hostile to the interests of Sweden.

“Would you believe, my dear friend, that the persons to whom I made these candid protestations, laughed at my credulity! They told me, that after the conversation, in which the emperor had so cordially pressed my hand, I had scarcely taken leave of him, when he was heard to say, that I had made a great display of my learning to him, and that he had humoured me like a child. He wished to inspire me with full confidence, so as to put me off my guard; and I know for a certainty that he had the design of arresting me.

“But,” pursued Bernadotte, “in spite of the feeling of animosity which I know the emperor has cherished against me since the 18th Brumaire, I do not think, when once I shall be in Sweden, that he will wish to have any differences with the Swedish government. I must tell you also, he has given me two millions of francs in exchange for my principality of Ponte-Corvo. Half the sum has been already paid, which will be very useful to me in defraying the expenses of my journey and installation.*

* The other million stipulated in exchange for the principality of Ponte-Corvo was never paid to Bernadotte.

When I was about to step into my carriage to set off, an individual, of whom you must spare me the naming, came to bid me farewell, and related to me a little conversation which had just taken place at the Tuileries. Napoleon said to the individual in question, 'Well, does not the prince regret leaving France?'—'Certainly, Sire.'—'As to me, I should have been very glad if he had not accepted his election. But there is no help for it. . . . He does not like me.'—'Sire, I must take the liberty of saying, that your majesty labours under a mistake. I know the differences which have existed between you and General Bernadotte for the last six years. I know how he opposed the overthrow of the Directory; but I also know that the prince has long been sincerely attached to you.'—'Well, I dare say you are right. But we have not understood each other. It is now too late. He has his interests and his policy, and I have mine.'

"Such," added the prince, "were the emperor's last observations respecting me two hours before my departure. The individual to whom I have just alluded, spoke truly, my dear Bourrienne. I am, indeed, sorry to leave France; and I never should have left it, but for the injustice of Bonaparte. If ever I ascend the throne of Sweden, I shall owe my crown to his ill-treatment of me; for had he not persecuted me by his animosity, my condition would have sufficed for a soldier of fortune: but we must follow our fate."

During the three days the prince spent with me, I had many other conversations with him. He wished me to give him my advice as to the course he should pursue with regard to the continental system. "I advise you," said I, "to reject the system without hesitation. It may be very fine in theory; but it is utterly impossible to carry it into practice, and it will, in the end, give the trade of the world to England. It excites the dissatisfaction of our allies, who, in spite of themselves, will again become our enemies. But no other country, except Russia, is in the situation of Sweden. You want a number of objects of the first necessity, which nature has withheld from you. You can only obtain them by perfect freedom of navigation; and you can only pay for them with those peculiar productions in which Sweden abounds. It would be out of all reason to close your ports against a nation who rules the seas. It is your navy that would be blockaded, not hers. What can France do against you? She may invade you by land. But England and Russia will exert all their efforts to oppose her. By sea it is still more impossible that she should do any thing. Then you have nothing to fear but Russia and England, and it will be easy for you to keep up friendly relations with those two powers. Take my advice; sell your iron, timber, leather, and pitch: take in return salt, wines, brandy, and colonial produce. This is the way to make yourself popular in Sweden. If, on the contrary, you follow the continental system, you will be obliged

to adopt laws against smuggling, which will draw upon you the detestation of the people."

Such was the advice which I gave to Bernadotte, when he was about to commence his new and brilliant career. In spite of my situation as a French minister, I could not have reconciled it to my conscience to give him any other counsel, for if diplomacy has duties so also has friendship. Bernadotte adopted my advice, and the King of Sweden has now no reason to regret having done so.

BATTLE OF WAGRAM.

"Early in the morning of the 9th, after despatching orders in various directions, Napoleon was taken rather seriously ill, in consequence of his fatigue and exertion. This circumstance compelled him to indulge in a little rest whilst the troops were advancing.

"Marshal Bernadotte came at that time to see the emperor, who had left orders that no one should disturb him until he called; I therefore refused to introduce the marshal, the object of whose visit was wholly unknown to me. I had witnessed the lukewarmness which his troops had evinced in the battle: ever since the opening of the campaign, he had been incessantly complaining of want of ardour in his troops, of their inexperience, and of their want of confidence in their leaders. I should therefore have exhausted every supposition before I could have imagined that contradicting on a sudden the unfavourable opinion he had given of their courage, he could ever dream that those troops had decided the victory we had just obtained. The emperor was soon made acquainted with that unaccountable order of the day; he sent for the marshal, and removed him from the command of his troops. This lesson was ineffectual; Bernadotte, who persisted in maintaining the justice of the ridiculous congratulations he had addressed to the Saxons, caused them to be inserted in the public papers. The emperor was indignant at this conduct; being at all times inflexibly severe against every impropriety of conduct and every act of falsehood; though he was unwilling, at the same time, to wound the feelings of men who had exposed their lives in his service. The insult, however, was such, that he felt it impossible to pass it by. He issued an order of the day, which he directed the major-general not to circulate, either amongst the army at large, or the Saxon troops, of which he had given the command to General Regnier.

"At one period of the engagement the enemy's right was taking up a position in a perpendicular line to our extreme left, and compelled us to give it the form of an angle for the purpose of returning the enemy's fire. They had placed some pieces of artillery in such a manner as to fire upon the angle or elbow, whilst they were cannonading us on both sides of the angle. I know not what was the emperor's object, but he remained a full hour at that angle, which was a perfect stream of shot; and as there was no fire of musketry kept up, the soldiers became discouraged. The emperor was more sensible than any one else that such a situation could not last long, and he remained

there for the purpose of remedying the disorder. In the height of the danger, he rode in front of the line upon a horse as white as snow (it was called the Euphrates, and had been sent to him as a present from the Sophi of Persia). He proceeded from one extremity of the line to the other, and returned at a slow pace; it will easily be believed that shots were flying about him in every direction. I kept behind, with my eyes rivetted upon him, expecting at every moment to see him drop from his horse.—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"The emperor ordered, that as soon as the opening which he intended to make in the enemy's centre should be effected, the whole cavalry should charge and wheel round upon all the troops that had penetrated to the extremity of our left. He had given directions, in consequence, to Marshal Bessières; and the latter had at that moment started to execute them, when he was knocked down by the most extraordinary cannon-shot ever seen. It ran in full sweep along the thigh, in a zigzag direction, as if it had been a thunderbolt; and the marshal was so suddenly thrown off his horse, that we fancied he was killed on the spot. The same shot forced the barrel from his pistol, and carried away both barrel and stock. The emperor saw him fall, but not having recognised him, asked, as he usually did on similar occasions, 'Who is it?'—'Bessières, sire,' was the reply. He instantly turned his horse round, saying, 'Let us go, I have no time to weep. Let us avoid another scene.' He alluded to the distress he had suffered at the death of Marshal Lannes. He sent me to see whether Bessières was still alive. He had been carried off the ground, and had recovered his senses, having merely been struck on the thigh, which was completely paralyzed."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"The inhabitants of Vienna had ascended to the ramparts and the roofs of the houses, from whence they witnessed the battle. In the morning the ladies of that city were flushed with the hope of our defeat. This hope was converted to general gloom towards two in the afternoon. They discerned the retreat of the Austrian army, as plainly as it could be seen on the field of battle."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"The emperor was going over the field of battle the same evening when intelligence was brought him of the death of General Lasalle, who had just been killed by one of the last musket-shots fired before the final retreat of the enemy. That general had had, in the morning, a strange presentiment of the fate that awaited him. The acquisition of glory had been an object of much greater solicitude to him than the advancement of his fortune; but, on the night previous to the battle, he seems to have had the fate of his children strongly impressed upon his mind, and he awoke to draw up a petition to the emperor in their behalf, which he placed in his sabre-tasche. When the emperor passed in the morning in front of his division, General Lasalle did not address him; but he stopped M. Maret, who was a few paces behind, and told him that, never having asked any favour of the emperor, he begged he would take charge of the petition which he then handed to him, in case any misfortune should befall him; a few hours afterwards he was no more."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"As Napoleon was going over the field of battle, he stopped on the ground which had been occupied by Macdonald's two divisions; it

exhibited the picture of a loss fully commensurate with the valour they had displayed. The emperor recognised amongst the slain a colonel who had given him some cause for displeasure. That officer, who had made the campaign of Egypt, had misbehaved after the departure of General Bonaparte, and proved ungrateful towards his benefactor, in hopes, no doubt, of insinuating himself into the good graces of the general who had succeeded him. On the return of the army of Egypt to France, the emperor, who had shown him many marks of kindness during the war in Italy, gave no signs of resentment, but granted him none of those favours which he heaped upon all those who had been in Egypt. The emperor now said, on seeing him stretched upon the field of battle, 'I regret not having been able to speak to him before the battle, in order to tell him that I had long since forgotten every thing.'

"A few steps further on, he discovered a young quarter-master of the regiment of carabineers still alive, although a shot had gone through his head; but the heat and dust had almost immediately congealed the blood, so that the brain could not be affected by the air. The emperor dismounted, felt his pulse, and, with his handkerchief, endeavoured to clear the nostrils, which were filled with earth. He then applied a little brandy to his lips; whereupon the wounded man opened his eyes, though he appeared at first to be quite insensible to the act of humanity exercised towards him; but having again opened them, and fixed them on the emperor, whom he now recognised, they immediately filled with tears, and he would have sobbed, had not his strength forsaken him. The wretched man could not escape death, according to the opinion of the surgeons who were called to his assistance.

"After having gone over the ground where the army had fought, the emperor went to place himself in the midst of the troops, which were beginning to move for the purpose of following the retreating enemy. On passing by Macdonald, he stopped, and held out his hand to him, saying, 'Shake hands, Macdonald! no more animosity between us: we must henceforward be friends; and, as a pledge of my sincerity, I will send you your marshal's staff, which you so gloriously earned in yesterday's battle.' Macdonald had been in a kind of disgrace for many years: it would be difficult to assign any reason for it, except the intrigue and jealousy to which an elevated mind is always exposed. Malevolence had succeeded in inducing the emperor to remove him from his presence; and his innate pride had withheld him from taking any step towards reconciliation with a sovereign who did not treat him with that kindness to which he felt he had a claim."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*.

"One evening, after the battle of Wagram, we were playing at *vingt-et-un*. Napoleon was very fond of this game; he used to try to cheat those he was playing with, and was much amused at the tricks he played. He had a great quantity of gold spread out upon the table before him. 'Rapp,' said he, 'are not the Germans very fond of these little Napoleons?'—'Yes, Sire, they like them much better than the great one.'—'That, I suppose,' said he, 'is what you call German frankness.'"—*Memoirs of General Rapp*.

CHAPTER XVI.

1810.

Bernadotte's departure from Hamburg—The Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg—Arrival of the crown prince in Sweden—Misunderstandings between him and Napoleon—Letter from Bernadotte to the emperor—Plot for kidnapping the Prince Royal of Sweden—Invasion of Swedish Pomerania—Forced alliance of Sweden with England and Russia—Napoleon's overtures to Sweden—Bernadotte's letter of explanation to the emperor—Distress in England—The Minerva—Colonel Burr—The Princess Royal of Sweden—My recal to Paris—Union of the Hanse Towns with France—Dissatisfaction of Russia—Extraordinary demand made upon me by Bonaparte—Fidelity of my old friends—Duroc and Rapp—Visit to Malmaison, and conversation with Josephine.

WHILE Bernadotte was preparing to fill the high station to which he had been called by the unbiassed wishes of the people of Sweden, Napoleon was involved in his misunderstanding with the pope,* and in the affairs of Portugal, which were far from proceeding according to his wishes. Bernadotte had scarcely quitted Hamburg for Sweden, when the Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg arrived. The duke was the brother of the last Prince Royal of Sweden, whom Bernadotte was called

* It was about this time, that, irritated at what he called the captive pope's unreasonable obstinacy, Bonaparte conceived, and somewhat openly expressed his notion of making France a protestant country, and changing the religion of thirty millions of people by an imperial decree. One or two of the good sayings of the witty, accomplished, and chivalrous Count Louis de Narbonne, have already been given in the course of these volumes. The following is another of them :

"I tell you what I will do Narbonne—I tell you how I will vent my spite on this old fool of a pope, and the dunces who may succeed him," said Napoleon one day at the Tuileries. "I will make a schism as great as that of Luther—I will make France a protestant country!"

"Sir," replied the count, "I see difficulties in the way of this project. In the south, in the Vendée, in nearly all the west, the French are bigoted catholics, and even what little religion remains among us in our cities and great towns is of the Roman church."

"Never mind Narbonne—never mind! I shall at least carry a large portion of the French people with me—I will make a division."

"Sir," replied Narbonne, "I am afraid that there is not enough religion in all France to stand a division!"—*Editor.*

to succeed, and he came to escort his sister from Altona to Denmark. His journey had been retarded for some days, on account of the presence of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo in Hamburg: the preference granted to Bernadotte had mortified his ambition, and he was unwilling to come in contact with his fortunate rival. The duke was favoured by the Emperor of Russia.

As soon as he arrived in Sweden, Bernadotte directed his aide-de-camp, General Gentil-Saint-Alphonse, to inform me of his safe passage. Shortly after, I received a letter from Bernadotte himself, recommending one of his aides-de-camp, M. Villatte, who was the bearer of it. This letter contained the same sentiments of friendship as those I used to receive from General Bernadotte; and formed a contrast with the correspondence of King Jerome, who, when he wrote to me, assumed the regal character, and prayed that God would have me in his holy keeping. However, the following is the prince royal's letter:

MY DEAR BOURRIENNE,

I have directed M. Villatte to see you on his way through Hamburg, and to bear my friendly remembrances to you. Gentil has addressed his letter to you, which I suppose you have already received. Adieu, and believe in the unalterable attachment of yours,

CHARLES JOHN.

P.S.—I beg you will present my compliments to Madame, and all your family: embrace my little cousin for me.

The *little cousin*, so called by Bernadotte, was one of my daughters, then a child, whom Bernadotte used to be very fond of while he was at Hamburg.

Departing from the order of dates, I will here anticipate the future, and relate all I know respecting the real causes of the misunderstanding which arose between Bernadotte and Napoleon. Bonaparte viewed the choice of the Swedes with great displeasure, because he was well aware that Bernadotte had too much integrity and honour to serve him in the north as a political puppet, set in motion by means of strings which he might pull at Paris, or at his head-quarters. His dissatisfaction upon this point, occasioned an interesting correspondence, part of which, consisting of letters from Bernadotte to the emperor, is in my possession. The emperor had allowed Bernadotte to retain in his service, for a year at least, the French officers who were his aides-de-camp; but that permission was soon revoked, and the Prince Royal of Sweden wrote to Napoleon the following letter of remonstrance:

“At the moment when I was about to address my thanks to your Majesty for your kindness in continuing, during another year, the

permission you granted to the French officers who accompanied me to Sweden, I learn that your Majesty has revoked that favour. This unexpected disappointment, and, in fact, every thing that I learn from Paris indicates that your Majesty is not well disposed towards me. What have I done that deserves this treatment? I must look to calumny as the sole cause. In the new position in which fortune has placed me, I am, doubtless, likely to be more than ever exposed to calumny if I do not find a defender in the heart of your Majesty. Whatever may be said to you, Sire, I beg of you to believe that I have nothing to reproach myself with, and that I am entirely devoted to your person, not only by the strength of old ties, but by an unalterable affection. If the affairs of Sweden do not go on entirely as your Majesty wishes, it is solely owing to the constitution. It is not in the power of the king to control the constitution; still less is it in mine. In this country there are many separate interests to be united into one great national interest; there are four orders of the state to be amalgamated into one; and it is only by the most prudent and circumspect conduct, that I can hope one day to ascend the throne of Sweden. As M. Gentil de St. Alphonse returns to France, in conformity with your Majesty's orders, I commission him to deliver you this letter. Your Majesty may question him. He has seen every thing, and he will be able to explain to your Majesty how difficult is my situation. He can assure your Majesty how anxious I am to please you; and that I am in a state of continual perplexity between my new duties and the fear of displeasing you. I am grieved that your Majesty should withdraw the officers whose services you granted me for a year, but in obedience to your commands, I send them back to France. Perhaps your Majesty may be inclined to change your determination; in which case, I beg that you will, yourself, fix the number of officers you may think proper to send me. I shall receive them with gratitude. If, on the contrary, your Majesty should retain them in France, I recommend them to your favour. They have always served me well; and they have had no share in the rewards which were distributed after the last campaign.

Napoleon's dissatisfaction with the prince royal now changed to decided resentment. He repented having acceded to his departure from France, and he made no secret of his sentiments; for he said before his courtiers, "That he wished he had sent Bernadotte to Vincennes, to finish his study of the Swedish language." Bernadotte was informed of this; but he could not believe that the emperor had ever entertained such a design. *However, a conspiracy was formed in Sweden against Bernadotte, whom a party of foreign brigands were hired to kidnap in the neighbourhood of Haga; but the plot was discovered, and the conspirators were compelled to embark without their prey.** The emperor having, at the same time, seized upon Swedish Pomerania, the prince royal wrote him a second letter in these terms:

* A Swedish gentleman has assured us that these brigands were in the pay of Bonaparte.—*Editor.*

From the papers which have just arrived, I learn that a division of the army, under the command of the Prince of Eckmuhl, invaded Swedish Pomerania on the night of the 26th of January; that the division continued to advance, entered the capital of the duchy, and took possession of the island of Rugen. The king expects that your Majesty will explain the reasons which have induced you to act in a manner so contrary to the faith of existing treaties. My old connexion with your Majesty, warrants me in requesting you to declare your motives without delay, in order that I may give my advice to the king as to the conduct which Sweden ought, hereafter, to adopt. This gratuitous outrage against Sweden is felt deeply by the nation; and still more, Sire, by me, to whom is intrusted the honour of defending it. Though I have contributed to the triumphs of France, though I have always desired to see her respected and happy; yet I can never think of sacrificing the interests, honour, and independence of the country which has adopted me. Your Majesty, who has so ready a perception of what is just, must admit the propriety of my resolution. Though I am not jealous of the glory and power which surrounds you, I cannot submit to the dishonour of being regarded as a vassal. Your Majesty governs the greatest part of Europe, but your dominion does not extend to the nation which I have been called to govern; my ambition is limited to the defence of Sweden. The effect produced upon the people by the invasion of which I complain, may lead to consequences which it is impossible to foresee; and although I am not a Coriolanus, and do not command the Volsci, I have a sufficiently good opinion of the Swedes to assure you that they dare undertake any thing to avenge insults which they have not provoked, and to preserve rights to which they are as much attached as to their lives.

I was in Paris when the emperor received Bernadotte's letter on the occupation of Swedish Pomerania. When Bonaparte read it, I was informed that he flew into a violent rage, and even exclaimed, "You shall submit to your degradation, or die sword in hand!" But his rage was impotent. The unexpected occupation of Swedish Pomerania obliged the King of Sweden to come to a decided rupture with France, and to seek other allies; for Sweden was not strong enough in herself to maintain neutrality in the midst of the general conflagration of Europe, after the disastrous campaign of Moscow. The prince royal, therefore, declared to Russia and England, that in consequence of the unjust invasion of Pomerania, Sweden was at war with France, and he despatched Count de Lowenhjelm, the king's aide-de-camp, with a letter explanatory of his views. Napoleon sent many notes to Stockholm, where M. Alquier, his ambassador, according to his instructions, had maintained a haughty and even insulting tone towards Sweden. Napoleon's overtures after the manifestations of his anger, and after the attempt to carry off the prince royal, which could be attributed only to him, were considered by the prince royal merely as a snare. But in the hope of reconciling the duties he owed to both his old and his new country, he addressed to the emperor the following firm and moderate letter:

I have received some notes, the contents of which induce me to come to a candid explanation with your Majesty. When by the wish of the Swedish people I was called to the succession of the throne, I hoped, on quitting France, that I should always be able to reconcile my personal affections with the interests of my new country. My heart cherished the hope that I could identify myself with the affections of this people, and at the same time preserve the recollection of my early connexions, and never lose sight of the glory of France, nor of my sincere attachment to your Majesty, an attachment founded on our fraternity in arms, which was distinguished by so many great actions. Full of this hope I arrived in Sweden. I found a nation generally attached to France, but more jealous of their own liberty and laws; anxious for your friendship, Sire, but not wishing to purchase it at the expense of honour and independence. Your Majesty's ambassador thought proper to disregard this national feeling, and has ruined all by his arrogance. His communications bore no trace of the respect due from one crowned head to another. In fulfilling, according to the dictates of his own passions, your Majesty's intentions, Baron Alquier spoke like a Roman proconsul, forgetting that he did not address himself to slaves. This ambassador was the cause of the distrust which Sweden began to entertain respecting your Majesty's intentions, and which subsequent events were calculated to confirm. I have already had the honour, Sire, in my letters of November 19, and December 8, 1810, to make your Majesty acquainted with the situation of Sweden, and her wish to find a protector in your Majesty. She could only attribute your Majesty's silence to an unmerited indifference, and it became her duty to take precautions against the storm which was ready to burst upon the continent. Sire, mankind have already suffered too much; during twenty years the world has been deluged with blood, and all that is necessary to raise your Majesty's glory to the highest pitch, is to put a period to these disasters. If your Majesty wishes the king should give the Emperor Alexander to understand that there is a possibility of reconciliation, I have sufficient faith in the magnanimity of that monarch to venture to assure you, that he will readily listen to overtures which would be at once equitable for your empire and for the North. If an event so unexpected, and so generally desired, should take place, what blessings would the people of the continent invoke for your Majesty! Their gratitude would be increased in proportion to the fear now entertained of the return of a scourge which has already made such cruel ravages. One of the happiest moments I have known since I quitted France, was that in which I was assured that your Majesty had not entirely forgotten me. You have truly divined my sentiments. You have perceived how deeply they would be wounded by the painful prospect of either seeing the interests of Sweden separated from those of France, or of finding myself compelled to sacrifice the interests of a country by which I have been adopted with such unlimited confidence. Sire, although a Swede by the obligations of honour, duty, and religion; yet by feeling, I am still identified with France, my native country, which I have always faithfully served from my boyhood. Every step I take in Sweden, and the homage I receive here, revive those recollections of glory to which I chiefly

owe my elevation, and I cannot disguise from myself the fact, that Sweden, in choosing me, intended to pay a tribute of esteem to the French people.

This letter throws great light on the conduct of the emperor with respect to Bernadotte; for Napoleon was not the man whom any one whatever would have ventured to remind of facts, the accuracy of which was in the least degree questionable. Such then were the relations between Napoleon and the Prince Royal of Sweden. When I shall bring to light some curious secrets, which have hitherto been veiled beneath the mysteries of the restoration, it will be seen by what means Napoleon, before his fall, again sought to wreak his vengeance upon Bernadotte.

In December, 1810, the misery which had previously prevailed on the continent, began to be felt in England. Some Hamburg merchants received a letter from London, which was communicated to me, and from which I copied the following passage:—"We are in a very distressing situation. Discontent affects all classes, and threatens to become general. Our trade still keeps up, but it is attended only with loss, to which must be added embarrassments on the Exchange. The affairs of the Baltic have cost our merchants immense sums. Every one wishes for a change." This information was exactly that which pleased Bonaparte: for nothing gratified him so much as the idea of difficulties felt on the London exchange, which he attributed to his admirable continental system.

On the 6th of December I received a letter from the minister for foreign affairs, communicating the emperor's complaints respecting a monthly journal printed at Hamburg, under the title of *The Minerva*, which had a great circulation in Germany, and other parts of the north. My attention was directed to the number for October, amongst others, which I was sharply reprimanded for having allowed to appear. That number really contained nothing which could justify the least censure on me. *The Minerva*, so far from being hostile to the emperor, had by my care, become a French journal in opinion and principles. The paper had formerly been conducted by M. Archenholtz, who had been a captain in the Prussian service. He was infected with Anglo-mania, and was inclined to fill the publication with articles in unison with his prejudices. During the four years that he had the management of the *Minerva*, I had great difficulty in preventing him from gratifying his taste in that way. However I sometimes succeeded in obtaining the insertion of articles favourable to France and her system. I at length prevailed upon M. Archenholtz to resign the management of the *Minerva* to M. Bran, a young man of considerable talent, whose sentiments were very favourable to France. When the emperor's complaints were forwarded to me, M. Bran had been editor of

the *Minerva* for about a year, and it was quite impossible that the publication could at that time have contained any objectionable article; on the contrary, the spirit in which the *Minerva* was conducted continually exposed M. Brin to the attacks of the partisans of England.

At the height of his glory and power, Bonaparte was so suspicious, that the veriest trifle sufficed to alarm him. I recollect, that about the time the complaints were made respecting the *Minerva*, Colonel Burr, formerly Vice-President of the United States, who had recently arrived at Altona, was pointed out to me as a dangerous man, and I received orders to watch him very closely, and even to arrest him on the slightest ground of suspicion, if he should come to Hamburg. Colonel Burr was one of those in favour of whom I ventured to disobey the orders I received from the restless police of Paris. As soon as the minister of the police heard of his arrival at Altona, he directed me to adopt towards him those vigilant measures which are equivalent to persecution. In answer to these instructions, I stated that Colonel Burr conducted himself at Altona with much prudence and propriety; that he kept but little company; and that he was scarcely spoken of. Far from regarding him as a man who required watching, having learned that he wished to go to Paris, I caused a passport to be procured for him, which he was to receive at Frankfort, and I never heard that this dangerous citizen had endangered the safety of the state in any way.

On the 4th of December, I had the honour to see the Princess Royal of Sweden, who arrived that day at Hamburg.* She

* Madame Bernadotte, *puis* Princess Royal of Sweden, and now Queen of Sweden, was a Mademoiselle Clary, and younger sister to the wife of Joseph Bonaparte: hence the relationship with Bonaparte of which Bernadotte speaks. Monsieur Clary, the father of these two queens, was a very respectable merchant at Marseilles. The following anecdote we have had from a near connexion of the family. At a humble stage of his fortunes Napoleon sought the hand of Madame Bernadotte, his brother Joseph having already married her elder sister. But Monsieur Clary would not hear of the match. "*Pas de tout*—No, no," said he, "one poor Bonaparte in my family is quite enough!" Joseph, the to-be-hereafter King of Naples, and of Spain and the Indies, was then fagging in Clary's counting-house at invoices and bills of sales! It was some years later that Bernadotte obtained the hand of the young lady which had been refused to Napoleon. Madame Bernadotte (we speak from personal knowledge) was, even when she had become a queen, a kind-hearted, amiable woman, with a few eccentricities of character and conduct. The reader may find a very interesting sketch of her Swedish Majesty in the Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès.

In the operatic company of the theatre San-Carlo, at Naples, there was a poor French *danseuse*, sufficiently *passée* and miserable, who, in the vicissitudes of time and fortune, had almost sunk into the subordinate rank of a mere *figurante*. Some quarter of a century before the time when we first knew her, this woman had been the much-loved mistress of the King of Sweden—then Lieutenant Bernadotte of the French republican army. In the ardour of his affection Bernadotte proposed marriage; but the condition and prospects of the parties were considered by Mademoiselle as too unequal. "No, no," said she, "I am im-

merely passed through the city on her way to Stockholm, to join her husband. She remained but a short time in Sweden, two months I believe, at most, not being able to reconcile herself to the ancient Scandinavia. As to the prince royal, he soon became inured to the climate, having been for many years employed in the north. After this, my stay at Hamburg was not of long duration. Bonaparte's passion for territorial aggrandizement knew no bounds, and the turn of the Hanse Towns now arrived. By taking possession of those towns and territories, he merely accomplished a design formed long previously. I, however, was recalled with many complaints, and under the specious pretext that the emperor wished to hear my opinions respecting the country in which I had been residing. At the beginning of December, I received a letter from M. de Champagny, stating that the emperor wished to see me, in order to consult with me upon different things relating to Hamburg. In this note I was told "that the information I had obtained respecting Hamburg and the north of Germany might be useful to the public interest, which must be the most gratifying reward of my labours." The reception which awaited me will presently be seen. The conclusion of the letter spoke in very flattering terms of the manner in which I had discharged my duties. I received it on the 8th of December, and next day I set out for Paris. When I arrived at Mentz I was enabled to form a correct idea of the fine compliments which had been paid me, and of the emperor's anxiety to have my opinion respecting the Hanse Towns. In Mentz I met the courier, who was proceeding to announce the union of the Hanse Towns with the French empire. I confess, that notwithstanding the experience I had acquired of Bonaparte's duplicity, or rather, of the infinite multiplicity of his artifices, he completely took me by surprise on that occasion.

On my arrival in Paris, I did not see the emperor; but the first *Moniteur* I read contained the formula of a *senatus con-*

proving—I am getting on in my profession—I may make a fortune, and you, *cher Bernadotte*, though a good fellow enough, are only a *pauvre soldat*." We have heard *Mademoiselle* say twenty times, "*Voilà ce que c'est que le destin!*" (Only see what is destiny!) At this hour I might have been Queen of Sweden, instead of being obliged to kick my heels about here for fifteen ducats a month!* The story was universally known at Naples, and her companions on the boards almost invariably called her, in fun, the Queen of Sweden, or, Your Majesty.

Don Domenico Barbaja, the *impresario* or manager of San-Carlo's, was a man of hasty temper, and rather coarse to the tongue. One morning, during the *prueba* of a new grand ballet, as poor *Mademoiselle* was not at her post in proper time, he was heard roaring through the *coulisses*, "*Dov'è quella p—la regina di Svezia?*" (Where is that w— the Queen of Sweden?)" We left her majesty at Naples in the year 1827.

The whole story would have been an incident for *Candide*, or the best of Voltaire's cynical novels.—*Editor*.

* Fifteen Neapolitan ducats are about 2*l.* 10*s.* English.—*Editor*.

sultum, which united the Hanse Towns, Lauenburg, &c. to the French empire by the right of the strongest. This new and important augmentation of territory could not fail to give uneasiness to Russia. Alexander manifested his dissatisfaction by prohibiting the importation of our agricultural produce and manufactures into Russia. Finally, as the continental system had destroyed all trade by the ports of the Baltic, Russia showed herself more favourable to the English, and gradually reciprocal complaints of bad faith led to that war, whose unfortunate issue was styled by M. Talleyrand "the beginning of the end."

I have now to make the reader acquainted with an extraordinary demand made upon me by the emperor through the medium of M. de Champagny. In one of my first interviews with that minister, after my return to Paris, he thus addressed me: "The emperor has intrusted me with a commission to you, which I am obliged to execute. 'When you see Bourrienne,' said the emperor, 'tell him I wish him to pay six millions into your chest to defray the expense of building the new office for foreign affairs.'" I was so astonished at this unfeeling and inconsiderate demand, that I was utterly unable to make any reply. This then was my recompence for having obtained money and supplies during my residence at Hamburg, to the extent of nearly ten millions, by which his treasury and army had profited in moments of difficulty! M. de Champagny added, that the emperor did not wish to receive me. He asked what answer he should bear to his majesty. I still remained silent, and the minister again urged me to give an answer. "Well, then," said I, "tell him he may go to the devil." The minister naturally wished to obtain some variation from this laconic answer; but I would give no other; and I afterwards learned that M. de Champagny was compelled to communicate it to Napoleon. "Well," asked the latter, "have you seen Bourrienne?"—"Yes, sire." "Did you tell him I wished him to pay six millions into your chest?"—"Yes, sire,"—"And what did he say?"—"Sire, I dare not inform your majesty. . . ."—"What did he say? I insist upon knowing."—"Since you insist on my telling you, sire, M. de Bourrienne said your majesty might go to the devil."—"Ah! ah! did he really say so!" The emperor then retired to the recess of a window, where he remained alone for seven or eight minutes, biting his nails, and doubtless giving free scope to his projects of vengeance. He then turned to the minister, and spoke to him of quite another subject. Bonaparte had so nursed himself in the idea of making me pay the six millions, that every time he passed the office for foreign affairs, he said to those who accompanied him, "Bourrienne must pay for that after all."

Having thus fallen into the quietude of private life, I had time to amuse myself with my reflections and observations, and the

details I received from my friends respecting Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa, which had taken place during my absence at Hamburg. Let any one place himself in my situation and he will understand all that fitted through my mind on seeing an old schoolfellow who had begun life under circumstances not at all superior to my own, hurried onward by fate, and becoming son-in-law to the Emperor of Germany! Berthier had been sent to Vienna to espouse, by proxy, the new Empress of the French: before his mission M. de Laborde, an absent-minded man, and a chamberlain of Bonaparte, had been charged with the first overtures of that marriage, at a moment when Napoleon had hardly settled in his own mind whether he would throw the handkerchief to a princess of the house of Saxony, or of Russia, or of Austria.

During my residence at Hamburg I knew some of these proceedings, but, in a sufficiently vague manner, being obliged to occupy my mind with things more directly important for myself. Even then, however, I was deeply afflicted at all the excellent Josephine must have to suffer, in the accomplishment of a cruel destiny she had long foreseen. When every thing was agreed upon with the court of Vienna, which has given so many queens to France, and nearly always with ill-fortune for their dowry, Berthier arranged the ceremony of the transmission of the person of the empress Maria Louisa, which took place near Braunau.*

Though I was not admitted to the honour of sharing the splendour of the imperial court, yet I had the satisfaction of finding, that in spite of my disgrace, those of my old friends who were worth any thing, evinced the same regard for me as heretofore. I often saw Duroc, who snatched some moments from his more serious occupations to come and chat with me respecting all that had occurred since my secession from Bonaparte's cabinet. I shall not attempt to give a verbatim account of my conversations with Duroc, as I have only my memory to guide me; but I believe I shall not depart from the truth, in describing them as follows:

On his return from the last Austrian campaign, Napoleon, as I have already stated, proceeded to Fontainebleau, where he was joined by Josephine.† Then, for the first time, the communication which had always existed between the apartments of the husband and wife was closed. Josephine was fully alive to the fatal prognostics which were to be deduced from this conjugal separation. Duroc informed me that she sent for him, and on entering her chamber he found her bathed in tears. "I am lost!" she exclaimed in a tone of voice, the remembrance

* In these ceremonials the etiquette of Louis XIV., when he received for his wife an Infanta of Spain, was rather closely copied.—*Editor.*

† See *Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès* (Madame Junot).—*Editor.*

of which seemed sensibly to affect Duroc, even while relating the circumstance to me: "I am utterly lost! all is over now! You, Duroc, I know have always been my friend, and so has Rapp. It is not you who have persuaded him to part from me. This is the work of my enemies, Savary and Junot! But they are more his enemies than mine. And my poor Eugène! how will he be distressed, when he learns I am repudiated by an ungrateful man! . . . Yes, Duroc, I may truly call him ungrateful. . . . My God! my God! what will become of us!" . . . Josephine sobbed bitterly, while she thus addressed Duroc.

Before I was made acquainted with the singular demand which M. de Champagny was instructed to make to me, I requested Duroc to inquire of the emperor his reason for not wishing to see me. The grand marshal faithfully executed my commission, but he received only the following answer: "Do you think I have nothing better to do than to give Bourrienne an audience? that would indeed furnish gossip for Paris and Hamburg. He has always sided with the emigrants; he would be talking to me of past times; he was for Josephine!—My wife, Duroc, is near her confinement; I shall have a son, I am sure! . . . Bourrienne is not a man of the day: I have made giant strides since he left France; in short, I do not want to see him. He is a grumbler by nature; and you know, my dear Duroc, I do not like men of that sort."

I had not been above a week in Paris, when Duroc related this speech to me. Rapp was not in France at the time, to my great regret. Much against his inclination he had been appointed to some duties connected with the imperial marriage ceremonies; but, shortly after, having given offence to Napoleon, by some observation relating to the Faubourg St. Germain, he had received orders to repair to Dantzic, of which place he had already been governor.

The emperor's refusal to see me made my situation in Paris extremely delicate; and I was at first in doubt whether I might seek an interview with Josephine. Duroc, however, having assured me that Napoleon would have no objection to it, I wrote requesting permission to wait upon her. I received an answer the same day, and on the morrow I repaired to Malmaison. I was ushered into the tent drawing-room, where I found Josephine and Hortense. When I entered, Josephine stretched out her hand to me, saying, "Ah! my friend!" These words she pronounced with deep emotion, and tears prevented her from continuing. She threw herself on the ottoman on the left of the fireplace, and beckoned me to sit down beside her. Hortense stood by the fireplace, endeavouring to conceal her tears. Josephine took my hand, which she pressed in both her own; and, after a struggle to overcome her feelings, she said, "My dear Bourrienne, I have drained my cup of misery. He has

cast me off! forsaken me! He conferred upon me the vain title of empress, only to render my fall the more marked. Ah! we judged him rightly! I knew the destiny that awaited me; for what would he not sacrifice to his ambition!" As she finished these words, one of Queen Hortense's ladies entered with a message to her: Hortense stayed a few moments, apparently to recover from the emotion under which she was labouring, and then withdrew, so that I was left alone with Josephine. She seemed to wish for the relief of disclosing her sorrows, which I was curious to hear from her own lips; women have such a striking way of telling their distresses.

Josephine confirmed what Duroc had told me respecting the two apartments at Fontainebleau; then, coming to the period when Bonaparte had declared to her the necessity of a separation, she said, "My dear Bourrienne, during all the years you were with us, you know I made you the confident of my thoughts, and kept you acquainted with my sad forebodings. They are now cruelly fulfilled. I acted the part of a good wife to the very last. I have suffered all, and I am resigned! . . . What fortitude did it require latterly to endure my situation, when, though no longer his wife, I was obliged to seem so in the eyes of the world! With what eyes do courtiers look upon a repudiated wife! I was in a state of vague uncertainty worse than death, until the fatal day when he at length avowed to me what I had long before read in his looks! On the 30th of November, 1809, we were dining together as usual, I had not uttered a word during that sad dinner, and he had broken silence only to ask one of the servants what it was o'clock. As soon as Bonaparte had taken his coffee, he dismissed all the attendants, and I remained alone with him. I saw in the expression of his countenance what was passing in his mind; and I knew that my hour was come. He stepped up to me—he was trembling, and I shuddered: he took my hand, pressed it to his heart, and after gazing at me for a few moments in silence, he uttered these fatal words: 'Josephine! my dear Josephine! You know how I have loved you! . . . To you, to you alone, I owe the only moments of happiness I have tasted in this world. But, Josephine, my destiny is not to be controlled by my will. My dearest affections must yield to the interests of France.'—'Say no more,' I exclaimed, 'I understand you: I expected this, but the blow is not the less mortal.' I could not say another word," continued Josephine; "I know not what happened after. I seemed to lose my reason; I became insensible, and when I recovered I found myself in my chamber. Your friend Corvisart, and my poor daughter were with me. Bonaparte came to see me in the evening; and oh! Bourrienne, how can I describe to you what I felt at the sight of him; even the interest he evinced for me seemed an additional cruelty. Alas! I had good reason to fear ever becoming an empress!"

I knew not what consolation to offer to Josephine; and knowing, as I did, the natural lightness of her character, I should have been surprised to find her grief so acute, after the lapse of a year, had I not been aware that there are certain chords, which, when struck, do not speedily cease to vibrate in the heart of a woman. I sincerely pitied Josephine, and among all the things I said to assuage her sorrow, the consolation to which she appeared most sensible, was the reprobation which public opinion had pronounced on Bonaparte's divorce, and on this subject I said nothing but the truth, for Josephine was generally beloved. I reminded her of a prediction I had made under happier circumstances, viz., on the day when she came to visit us in our little house at Ruel: "My dear friend," said she, "I have not forgotten it, and I have often thought of all you then said. For my part, I knew he was lost from the day he made himself emperor. Adieu! Bourrienne, come and see me soon again; come often, for we have a great deal to talk about, you know how happy I always am to see you." Such was, to the best of my recollection, what passed at my first interview with Josephine, after my return from Hamburg.

CHAPTER XVII.

1811.

Arrest of La Sahla—My visit to him—His account of himself, and explanation of the reasons that urged him to attempt the life of Napoleon—His confinement at Vincennes—Subsequent history of La Sahla—His second journey to France—Detonating powder—Plot hatched against me by the Prince of Eckmühl—Friendly offices of the Duke de Rovigo—Bugbears of the police.

IN describing the attempt on the life of Napoleon at Schœnbrunn, I mentioned that I should have to relate other facts of the same kind. One of these I have now to notice.

I had been in Paris about two months when young La Sahla, who arrived on the 16th of February, 1811, was arrested on the Tuesday following, on suspicion of having come from Saxony to attempt the life of the emperor. La Sahla informed the Duke de Rovigo, then minister of the police, that he wished to see me, assigning, as a reason for this, the reputation I had left behind me in Germany. The emperor, I presume, had no objection to the interview, for I received an invitation to visit the prisoner. I accordingly repaired to the supernumerary-office of the minister of the police, in the Rue des Saint-Pères, where I was introduced to a young man between seventeen and eighteen years of

age. M. Desmarests was with him. La Sahla received me very politely, and said he wished to speak with me. I expressed a wish to be left alone with him, and declared that I would immediately retire, if there was any intention of converting the interview into a judicial interrogatory. Young La Sahla also declared, that he wished to speak with me in private. M. Desmarests immediately withdrew.

After discoursing a little with La Sahla respecting the university of Leipzig, where he had studied, the different professors who had died since I was there, and those by whom they had been succeeded, I turned the conversation on his journey to Paris. "How," said I, "could you, who are a member of a family of rank, and who have received an excellent education, conceive the design which, it is said, has brought you to Paris? Speak to me without fear or reserve; and tell me what have been the events of your past life." In answer to these questions, La Sahla related the following particulars. His manner was cool and collected; but his occasional fits of enthusiasm, when he alluded to Germany, involuntarily excited my interest. "About fifteen months ago," said he, "I was studying at the University of Leipzig. I associated but little with my fellow-students, because their dissipated habits did not suit my taste, and because, moreover, I was frequently ill (the young man's appearance, indeed, denoted infirm health). I applied myself, particularly, to the study of law, history, and the oriental languages. As my health prevented me from attending the public courses of lectures, I engaged the professors to come to me. My father died about nine years ago. My mother, though not rich, is in easy circumstances: she allowed me 1300 German crowns per year, and I received a further allowance from some other relatives. I began to hate Napoleon, after having heard a sermon by M. Reinhard, the Lutheran preacher, at Dresden. In that sermon, which was delivered after the battle of Jena, Napoleon, without being precisely named, was clearly alluded to, and the preacher compared him to Nero. The miseries which Germany suffered after the battle of Jena, afflicted me more and more; and this state of my feelings was increased by a perusal of the work of Villers, entitled "A Letter to Madame Fanny Beauharnais, upon the taking of Lubeck." While I was at Leipzig, I heard mention of the conscription, and of the attempt of Staps (here his countenance betrayed a wildness of expression), and of the extinction of the states of my country. I saw the English merchandise burned. This act of stupid tyranny affected me violently. When I saw trade annihilated, and desolation and despair spreading every where, I determined to kill Bonaparte, who was the author of all these evils. I was not to have left Leipzig until six months later than I did. But I reflected that, if I executed my project before the delivery of the empress, I should be the more secure of success; for I

thought, if the empress should present Napoleon with a son, the French would probably be more attached to his dynasty; and a revolution in the empire could not be so positively counted upon. I therefore hastened my departure, and practised firing pistols, at which I became very expert. I also turned Catholic, because the pope having excommunicated Napoleon, it became a meritorious act in the eyes of God to kill him; and besides I knew that, by turning Catholic, I should meet with more support amongst the Catholics in general. A second motive induced me to embrace this religion, namely, I had observed that the countries in which it prevailed were more united than others, and not so easily influenced by their neighbours. I eagerly read the book entitled 'Theobald's Goilhraht,' which treats of this subject (the author is an illuminato), and the writings of John Muller, on the freedom of Germany. I made several extracts from these works, which will be found in my desk at Leipzig. Six weeks before my departure, I devoted myself to dissipation and pleasure, in order to deceive my comrades, and to make them suppose a motive for my departure, without the authority of my friends."

After these first confessions of La Sahla, I could not help feeling wonder, not unmixed with horror, that such calculations should have entered into so young a mind. How, indeed, could I fail to be struck with the resemblance to the first Brutus, who feigned idiotcy to free Rome from the yoke of the Tarquins, as La Sahla had affected dissipation to liberate Germany from the yoke of Napoleon. I asked him what he had done from the moment when he had resolved to leave Germany, and proceed to Paris. He replied, "On the eve of my departure for Frankfurt, I sent my servant to Dresden, that I might have no embarrassment during my journey. He was the bearer of a letter to my uncle. Unfortunately he could not obtain a conveyance, and he returned home, where he found me making preparations for a journey, and evidently a long one. I believe it was this man who betrayed me. However, at that moment I felt no uneasiness, because I had stated that I was only going to Mentz to be confirmed. I arrived in Paris without being discovered. I had five pistols of different sizes."

"How," inquired I, "did you employ yourself from the period of your arrival in Paris, until you were arrested?" He answered, "From the 16th of February, when I arrived, I spent five hours every day at the Tuileries. I dined at Very's. Last Wednesday I saw the emperor walking in a saloon looking on the garden. The window was open, and he sometimes approached it. I thought of firing at him; but a person passing, to whom I expressed a wish to have a nearer view of Napoleon, having told me that he would probably come down into the garden, I waited. But the emperor did not appear. I reckoned on executing my project in different ways, according to circumstances: when he

should be stepping into his carriage; or in the gardens of the Tuileries, where he sometimes walks with Duroc; or at mass; or at the Théâtre Français. The distance at which I should be from him at chapel presented no obstacle, because it would not be so great as that which separated his box from the opposite one at the Théâtre Français. I had measured it, and it did not exceed thirty paces. I had a pistol, with which I could easily have hit my mark at that distance. It was at the theatre that I had the strongest expectation of effecting my object. By resting my hand on the front of the box, and firing twice, I could not possibly miss him. I saw a pistol with four barrels, at the Palais Royal; but it did not appear to me sufficiently convenient and sure. I was not deceived as to the fate which awaited me. I knew I should be massacred on the spot. But what did I care for life! If Staps had despised it as I do, Napoleon would not now be in existence, for he had the good fortune to get near him; but he trembled. I do not fear death. I firmly believe in predestination. If I am doomed to die in two days, nothing can save me: if I am not fated to die in that time, my life is secure.* I was always aware that the success of my undertaking was not infallible. I have read that twenty-three attempts were made to assassinate Henry IV., and that the twenty-fourth was successful. And yet Henry IV. was beloved, and did not adopt precautions. Napoleon, on the contrary, is much on his guard, and he is hated. We may therefore suppose that forty attempts must be made on his life before one can succeed. It may be thought that this consideration ought to have deterred me; but no. For, if his life has been attempted six times before, I have hazarded the seventh. That is one chance more for those who may follow me, and one less for Napoleon. This is so much gained. What signifies the life of a man in comparison with the great results which would arise from the emperor's death!" I asked whether he had any accomplices. To which he replied, "None. I communicated my design to no one; but if it please God, the bond of virtue which unites the youth of Germany in the same love of liberty, will raise up successors to me. I do not expect any from Saxony: the students of Leipzig are base and dissolute; but from Westphalia, where the people are unhappy and discontented; from the Hanse Towns; from Italy, and Spain, some one must succeed in the end."—"Were you not deterred," said I, "by the thought of the grief into which your rash act would plunge your family?"—"Family considerations," he replied, "must yield to the great interests of the liberty of one's country. I know that my mother and sister will be reduced to despair; but what signify women's tears when the deliverance of Germany is to be achieved. By Napoleon's death Germany would recover

* What a singular coincidence between this reasoning and that of El Coraim, the Sheriff of Alexandria. (See vol. i. of these Memoirs.)

her laws and sovereigns—the hateful French dominion would cease—the Code Napoleon would be no longer the law of her people. All this must happen, because, if we succeed in killing Napoleon—and we *will* succeed—Bernadotte, who is much beloved by the French, will be recalled from Sweden, and he will evacuate Germany; or if he be not recalled, the marshals will dispute for the empire, and we shall see the history of Alexander's successors renewed. Then Germany will be free and happy; but as long as France is united and tranquil, Germany will be oppressed.

“This was my design. I repeat that no private considerations influenced me, that I have communicated my secret to no one, and that I have no accomplices. I thought of neither mother, sister, nor relatives, of no nobility, or privileges. I am bent on one thing, the deliverance of Germany from the French yoke. To this great idea I have sacrificed every thing. My attempt has failed. I love life; but do not fear death; and if I were told that I must die in five minutes, I should receive the intelligence with indifference.”

Such was the language which this young man held. I was particularly struck with his last observation, “I love life, but do not fear death.” It was at once characteristic of the love of life peculiar to youth, and of that calm courage, superior to the vapouring of those who boast of being able to meet death without regret.

I wrote down La Sahla's answers to my interrogatories, and when I afterwards read them to him he declared them to be correct. As may well be supposed, my conversation with the young man, whose uncle was, I believe, minister to the King of Saxony, interested me greatly in his behalf; I determined if possible, to save La Sahla, and I succeeded. I proceeded immediately to the Duke de Rovigo, and I easily convinced him, that under the circumstances of the case, it was highly important to make it be believed that the young man was insane. I observed, that if he were brought before a court, he would repeat all that he had stated to me, and probably enter into still further disclosures, which might instigate fresh attempts at assassination. Perhaps an avenger of La Sahla might rise up amongst the students of Leipzig. These reasons, together with others, founded on the singular confession of the young fanatic, had the success I hoped for. The emperor afterwards acknowledged the prudent course which had been adopted respecting La Sahla, when speaking at St. Helena of the conspiracies against his life, he said, “I carefully concealed all that I could.” La Sahla's was certainly one of those to which he had reason to congratulate himself on not having given unnecessary publicity.

I will now state all that has since come to my knowledge respecting the fate of young La Sahla. In conformity with my advice, he was sent to Vincennes, where he remained until the

end of March, 1814. He was then removed to the castle of Saumur, from which he was liberated at the beginning of April. I had heard nothing of him for three years, when one day, shortly after the restoration, whilst sitting at breakfast with my family, at my house in the Rue Hauteville, I heard an extraordinary noise in the antechamber, and before I had time to ascertain its cause, I found myself in the arms of a young man, who embraced me with extraordinary ardour. It was La Sahla. He was in a transport of gratitude and joy at his liberation, and at the accomplishment of the events which he had wished to accelerate by assassination. La Sahla returned to Saxony, and I saw no more of him; but while I was in Hamburg in 1815, whither I was sent by Louis XVIII., I learned, that on the 5th of June a violent explosion was heard in the chamber of representatives at Paris, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder, but was soon ascertained to have been occasioned by a young Saxon having fallen with a packet of detonating powder in his pocket.

On receiving this intelligence, I imagined, I know not why, that this young Saxon was La Sahla, and that he had probably intended to blow up Napoleon and even the legislative body; but I have since ascertained that I was under a mistake as to his intentions. My knowledge of La Sahla's candour, induces me to believe the truth of his declarations to the police: and if there be any inaccuracies in the report of those declarations, I do not hesitate to attribute them to the police itself, of which Fouché was the head at the period in question. The following is the account of the event above mentioned, which appears to be accurate, with the exception of the conclusion:

"During the sitting of the chamber of representatives, about half-past one o'clock, a violent explosion took place, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder. The following are the particulars connected with the circumstance: A Saxon, about twenty-eight years of age who is said to belong to a family of distinction, had in his coat-pocket about four ounces of detonating powder. He had come in a coach to the chamber of the legislative body. He entered the hall, but left it soon after, and at the corner of the Rue de Bourgogne his foot slipped, and he fell upon the packet of detonating powder. A violent explosion was the consequence; his coat and pantaloons were torn, and himself dreadfully mutilated. None of the passers by were hurt. He was conveyed in this state to the prefecture of the police, where he was interrogated. He described himself to be Baron La Sahla, and is, we are told, of a rich and distinguished family.

"Some years since, he came to France, with the intention of assassinating or poisoning the emperor. He was arrested and confined at first in the fortress of Vincennes, and afterwards removed to the castle of Saumur. Shortly after the entrance of the allies into Paris he was liberated, and returned to his own country. The emperor having re-ascended the throne, he determined to return to France. The cause of his fresh arrest has been stated. The following is his defence: F does not deny having formerly entertained the design of killing

emperor, whom he regarded as the oppressor of Germany; but that oppression having ceased, his feelings of hatred towards the author have also disappeared. The spoliations committed upon Saxony by the congress, and particularly by the Prussians, exasperated him greatly against the latter, and when he heard of the emperor's landing, and the fortunate issue of his enterprise, he beheld in him, henceforth, the liberator of his unfortunate country, and he wished to render him all the service in his power. He therefore determined to return to France. He requested an audience of M. Hardenberg, and having obtained it, he pretended to be more than ever bent on his former plan of assassinating Napoleon. M. Hardenberg, after praising his good intentions, referred him to Marshal Blücher, whom he requested to furnish him with the means of proceeding to France. Marshal Blücher's head-quarters were then at Namur, and the chief officer of his staff, who gave La Sahla a passport, advised him, with a view of facilitating his enterprise, to carry with him some detonating powder, and mentioned a shopkeeper at Namur of whom he could procure it. In order to avoid exciting suspicion, La Sahla went himself to the dealer, and purchased only four ounces of the fulminating powder. He then proceeded to France, and on his arrival in Paris, he instantly communicated to the government all the information he had acquired respecting the forces of the allies, their plans, their resources, &c. By endeavouring to serve France he believed that he was serving his own country. The police was satisfied that M. de La Sahla had communicated to the government some very valuable details, both political and military. He also informed the war minister that he had brought with him a little packet of detonating powder, and offered, it is said, to give it up; but it seems that no one was inclined to receive the dangerous deposit. Being asked the reason why he carried the powder about him, he replied that he did not wish to have it at the hotel where he lodged, for fear that any person should touch it, and occasion some accident. He is further said to have given M. Metternich proofs that M. Stein, the Prussian minister, had urged him to poison M. de Mongelas, the Bavarian minister, and that M. Metternich appeared indignant and horror-struck at M. Stein's conduct. If these declarations be true, it must be acknowledged that some members of the Prussian cabinet then resorted to diplomatic measures of a very extraordinary nature."

There is an evident error in the above report respecting the age of M. La Sahla, who, in 1815, could not be more than twenty-three. It is the latter part of the report which induced me to observe above, that if there were any inaccuracies in the statement, they were more likely to proceed from Fouché's police than the false representations of young La Sahla. It is difficult to give credit without proof to such accusations. However, I decide nothing; but I consider it my duty to express doubts of the truth of these charges brought against Prussian ministers, of whom the Prince of Wittgenstein, a man of undoubted honour, has always spoken to me in the best of terms.

There is nothing to prove that La Sahla returned to France the second time, with the same intentions as before. This pro-

ject, however, is a mystery to me, and his detonating powder gives rise to many conjectures.*

I had scarcely left Hamburg, when the Prince of Eckmühl (Marshal Davoust) was appointed governor-general of that place, on the union of the Hanse Towns with the empire. From that period I was constantly occupied in contending against the persecutions and denunciations which he racked his imagination to invent. I cannot help attributing to those persecutions the emperor's coolness towards me on my arrival in Paris. But as Davoust's calumnies were devoid of proof, he resorted to a scheme by which a certain appearance of probability might supply the place of truth. When I arrived in Paris, at the commencement of 1811, I was informed by an excellent friend I had left at Hamburg, M. Bouvier, an emigrant, and one of the hostages of Louis XVI., that in a few days I would receive a letter which would commit me, and likewise M. de Talleyrand and General Rapp. I had never had any connexion, on matters of business, with either of those individuals, for whom I entertained the most sincere attachment. They, like myself, were not in the good graces of Marshal Davoust, who could not pardon the one for his incontestable superiority of talent, and the other for his blunt honesty. On the receipt of M. Bouvier's letter, I carried it to the Duke de Rovigo, whose situation made him

* This account of La Sahla produced a warm remonstrance from Baron Stein, which appeared first in the Prussian State Gazette, and was afterwards copied into many other papers. In the baron's reply, he declares that he never saw La Sahla until that person visited him in Paris, in 1814. The baron was not then a Prussian minister, having been dismissed by Napoleon, in 1808, from that cabinet of which he never afterwards was a member. He asks, what motive could he have for poisoning Count Mongelas, and what possible influence could such a crime have on the political questions which were agitated in the autumn of 1814 and the spring of 1815? A complete copy of the baron's vindication was annexed to the German translation of Bourrienne's Memoirs. Baron Gagern applied to Prince Metternich for a declaration from him on the subject, and received in return the following letter:

"The passage in M. de Bourrienne's Memoirs, which has attracted Baron Stein's attention, produced a similar effect on me. I never knew any individual called La Sahla, either personally or by name. Never, under any name whatever, did any person ever come to me, and attribute to Baron Stein a purpose having the slightest relation to that stated in the passage in question. I honour the indignation which Baron Stein feels. An accusation which wounds honour may exist, and be considered true, while it remains uncontradicted, by the greater part of readers, who always have a predisposition to credulity. They ought to be undeceived; and the necessity for contradiction is the more pressing, when an error appears in a work like M. de Bourrienne's, which is stamped with a character entirely different from the multitude of wretched publications which daily appear."

Baron Gagern afterwards corresponded with Bourrienne, who stated that he could not make the desired correction until he published a third edition. This proposal, however, was not satisfactory to Baron Stein.

It seems to us that all the mystery of La Sahla's case admits of an easy explanation: he was half mad, and did not know what he was saying; and Fouché was quite villain enough to report his saying just what he chose.—Editor.

perfectly aware of the low intrigues which had been carried on against me since I had left Hamburg, by him whose ambition aspired to the viceroyalty of Poland. On that, as on many other similar occasions, the Duke de Rovigo advocated my cause with Napoleon. We agreed that it would be best to await the arrival of the letter which M. Bouvier had announced. Three weeks elapsed, and the letter did not appear. The Duke de Rovigo, therefore, told me that I must have been misinformed. However, I was certain that M. Bouvier would not have sent me the information on slight grounds, and I therefore supposed that the project had only been delayed. I was not wrong in my conjecture, for at length the letter arrived. To what a depth of infamy men can descend! The letter was from a man whom I had known at Hamburg; whom I had obliged; whom I had employed as a spy. His epistle was a miracle of impudence. After relating some extraordinary transactions which he said had taken place between us, and which all bore the stamp of falsehood, he requested me to send him, by return of post, the sum of sixty thousand francs, on account of what I had promised him, for some business he executed in England, by the direction of M. de Talleyrand, General Rapp, and myself. Such miserable wretches are often caught in the snares they spread for others. This was the case in the present instance; for the fellow had committed the blunder of fixing upon the year 1802, as the period of this pretended business in England; that is to say, two years before my appointment as minister plenipotentiary to the Hanse Towns. This anachronism was not the only one I discovered in the letter.

I took a copy of the letter, and immediately carried the original to the Duke de Rovigo, as had been agreed between us. When I waited on the minister, he was just preparing to go to the emperor. He took with him the letter which I brought, and also the letter which announced its arrival. As the Duke de Rovigo entered the audience-chamber, Napoleon advanced to meet him, and apostrophized him thus: "Well, I have learned fine things of your Bourrienne, whom you are always defending." *The fact was, the emperor had already received a copy of the letter, which had been opened at the Hamburg post-office.* The Duke de Rovigo told the emperor that he had long known what his majesty had communicated to him. He then entered into a full explanation of the intrigue, of which it was wished to render me the victim, and proved to him the more easily the falsehood of my accusers, by reminding him that in 1802 I was not in Hamburg, but was still in his service at home.

It may be supposed, that I was too much interested in knowing what had passed at the Tuileries not to return to the Duke de Rovigo the same day. I learned from him the particulars which I have already related. He added, that he had observed

to the emperor that there was no connexion between Rapp and M. de Talleyrand which could warrant the suspicion of their being concerned in the affair in question. "When the emperor saw the matter in its true light," said Savary, "when I proved to him the palpable existence of the odious machination, he could not find terms to express his indignation. 'What baseness, what horrible villany!' he exclaimed, and gave me orders to arrest and bring to Paris the infamous writer of the letter, and you may rely upon it, his orders shall be promptly obeyed." Savary, as he had said, instantly despatched orders for the arrest of the writer, whom he directed to be sent to France. On his arrival, he was interrogated respecting the letter. He declared that he had written it at the instigation, and under the dictation of Marshal Davoust, for doing which he received a small sum of money as a reward. He also confessed that, when the letter was put into the post, the Prince of Eckmühl ordered the director of the post to open it, take a copy, then seal it again, and send it to its address; that is to say, to me, and the copy to the emperor. The writer of the letter was banished to Marseilles, or to the Island of Hières; but the individual who dictated it continued a marshal, a prince, and a governor-general, and still looked forward to the viceroyalty of Poland! Such was the distributive justice of the empire; and Davoust continued his endeavours to revenge himself by other calumnies for my not having considered him a man of talent. I must do the Duke de Rovigo the justice to say, that though his fidelity to Napoleon was, as it always had been, boundless, yet whilst he executed the emperor's orders, he endeavoured to make him acquainted with the truth, as was proved by his conduct in the case I have just mentioned. He was much distressed by the sort of terror which his appointment had excited in the public, and he acknowledged to me that he intended to restore confidence by a more mild system than that of his predecessor. I had observed formerly, that Savary did not coincide in the opinion I had always entertained of Fouché; but when once the Duke de Rovigo endeavoured to penetrate the labyrinth of police, counter-police, inspections and hierarchies of spying, he found they were all bugbears which Fouché had created to alarm the emperor, as gardeners put up scarecrows among the fruit-trees, to frighten away the sparrows. Thus, thanks to the artifices of Fouché, the eagle was frightened as easily as the sparrows, until the period when the emperor, convinced that Fouché was maintaining a correspondence with England, through the agency of Ouvrard, dismissed him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1811.

M. Czernischeff—Dissimulation of Napoleon—Napoleon and Alexander—Josephine's foresight respecting the affairs of Spain—My visits to Malmaison—Grief of Josephine—Tears and the toilet—Vast extent of the empire—List of persons condemned to death and banishment in Piedmont—Observation of Alfieri respecting the Spaniards—Success in Spain—Check of Masséna in Portugal—Money lavished by the English—Bertrand sent to Illyria, and Marmont to Portugal—Situation of the French army—Assembling of the Cortès—Europe sacrificed to the continental system—Conversation with Murat in the Champs-Élysées.

SINCE my return to France, I had heard much of the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, who, under the pretext of being frequently sent to compliment Napoleon, on the part of the Emperor Alexander, performed, in fact, the office of a spy. The conduct of Napoleon, with regard to M. Czernischeff, at that period, struck me as singular; especially after the intelligence, which, before my departure from Hamburg, I had transmitted to him, respecting the dissatisfaction of Russia, and her hostile inclinations. It is therefore clear to me, that Bonaparte was well aware of the real object of M. Czernischeff's mission, and that, if he appeared to give credit to the increasing professions of his friendship, it was only because he still wished, as he formerly did, that Russia might so far commit herself as to afford him a fair pretext for the commencement of hostilities in the north.

M. Czernischeff first arrived in Paris shortly after the interview at Erfurt, and after that period was almost constantly on the road between Paris and St. Petersburg; it has been computed, that in the space of less than four years, he travelled more than ten thousand leagues. For a long time, his frequent journeyings excited no surmises; but while I was in Paris, Savary began to entertain suspicions, the correctness of which it was not difficult to ascertain, so formidable was still the system of espionage, notwithstanding the precaution taken by

Fouché, to conceal from his successor the names of his most efficient spies. It was known that M. Czernischeff was looking out for a professor of mathematics; doubtless, to disguise the real motives for his stay in Paris, by veiling them under the desire of studying the sciences. The confidant of Alexander had applied to a professor, connected with a public office; and from that time all the steps of M. Czernischeff were known to the police. It was discovered that he was less anxious to question his instructor respecting the equations of a degree, or the value of unknown quantities, than to gain all the information he could about the different branches of the administration, and particularly the department of war. It happened that the professor knew some individuals employed in the public offices, who furnished him with intelligence, which he in turn communicated to M. Czernischeff, but not without making a report of it to the police; according to custom, instead of putting an end to this intrigue at once, it was suffered fully to develop itself. Napoleon was informed of what was going on, and in this instance gave a new proof of his being an adept in the art of dissimulation; for, instead of testifying any displeasure against M. Czernischeff, he continued to receive him with the same marks of favour which he had shown to him during his former missions to Paris. Being, nevertheless, desirous to get rid of him, without evincing a suspicion that his clandestine proceedings had been discovered, he intrusted him with a friendly letter to his brother of Russia; but Alexander was in such haste to reply to the flattering missive of his brother of France, that M. Czernischeff was hurried back to Paris, having scarcely been suffered to enter the gates of St. Petersburg. I believe I am correct in the idea, that Napoleon was not really displeased at the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, from the supposition that they afforded an indication of the hostile intentions of Russia towards France; for, whatever he might say on this subject to his confidants, what reliance can we place on the man who formed the camp of Boulogne, without the most distant intention of attempting a descent upon England, and who had deceived the whole world respecting that important affair, without taking any one into his own confidence?

During the period of my stay in Paris, the war with Spain and Portugal occupied much of the public attention; and it proved, in the end, an enterprise upon which the intuition of Josephine had not deceived her. In general, she intermeddled little with political affairs: in the first place, because her doing so would have given offence to Napoleon; and next, because her natural frivolity led her to give a preference to lighter pursuits. But I may safely affirm, that she was endowed with an instinct so perfect, as seldom to be deceived respecting the good or evil tendency of any measure which Napoleon engaged in; and I remember she told me, that when informed of the inten-

tion of the emperor to bestow the throne of Spain on Joseph, she was seized with a feeling of indescribable alarm. It would be difficult to define that instinctive feeling which leads us to foresee the future; but it is a fact, that Josephine was endowed with this faculty in a more perfect degree than any other person I have ever known; and to her it was a fatal gift, for she suffered at the same time under the weight of present and of future misfortunes.

I often visited her at Malmaison, as Duroc assured me that the emperor had no objection to my doing so; yet he must have been fully aware, that when Josephine and I were in confidential conversation, he would not always be mentioned in terms of unqualified eulogy; and in truth, his first friend and his first wife, might well be excused for sometimes commingling their complaints.

Though more than a twelvemonth had elapsed since the divorce, grief still preyed on the heart of Josephine. "You cannot conceive, my friend," she often said to me, "all the torments that I have suffered since that fatal day! I cannot imagine how I survived it. You cannot figure to yourself the agony I endure on seeing descriptions of his fêtes every where. And the first time he came to visit me, after his marriage, what a meeting was that! How many tears I shed! The days on which he comes are to me days of misery, for he spares me not. How cruel to speak of his expected heir. Bourrienne, you cannot conceive how heart-rending all this is to me! Better, far better to be exiled a thousand leagues from hence! However," added Josephine, "a few friends still remain faithful in my changed fortune; and that is now the only thing which affords me even temporary consolation." The truth is that she was extremely unhappy, and the most acceptable consolation her friends could offer her was to weep with her. Yet such was still Josephine's passion for dress, that after having wept for a quarter of an hour, she would dry her tears, to give audience to milliners and jewellers. The sight of a new hat would call forth all Josephine's feminine love of finery.* One day, I re-

* Our amusing femme-de-chambre, Mademoiselle Avrillion, informs us that poor Josephine, after her divorce, amused her solitude with embroidering, and other little works of the kind. She says she was also very fond of reading, or of having books read out to her; but mademoiselle lets out on fifty occasions that the principal occupation of the ex-empress was the toilet, and that her taste for finery and expensive nic-nacs continued undiminished by time and many sorrows. Shortly after the divorce, Josephine made a journey to the waters of Aix, in Savoy, and then a short tour in Switzerland. When she was at Coppet, where Madame de Staël was residing, she declined receiving the visit of that celebrated woman, as she feared that by so doing she would offend her former husband, the great Napoleon, who was in a state of open warfare with the author of "*Corinne*." At Sécheron, Mademoiselle d'Avrillion was very near losing her "*fort beau châle de cachemire*!" It is her mixing up these characteristic traits and feminine fatuities with important events, and pathetic scenes, that renders her book interesting.—*Editor*.

member, that taking advantage of the momentary serenity occasioned by an ample display of sparkling gewgaws, I congratulated her upon the happy influence they exercised over her spirits, when she said, "My dear friend, I ought, indeed, to be indifferent to all this; but it is a habit." Josephine might have added, that it was also an occupation: for it would be no exaggeration to say, that if the time she wasted in tears and at her toilet had been substracted from her life, its duration would have been considerably shortened.

The vast extent of the French empire now presented a spectacle, which resembled rather the dominion of the Romans, and the conquests of Charlemagne, than the usual form and political changes of modern Europe. In fact, for nearly two centuries, until the period of the revolution, and particularly until the elevation of Napoleon, no remarkable changes had taken place in the boundaries of European states, if we except the partition of Poland, when two of the co-partitioners committed the error of turning the eyes of Russia towards the west! Under Napoleon, every thing was overturned with astonishing rapidity! customs, manners, laws, were superseded by new customs, new manners, and new laws, imposed by force, and forming a heterogeneous whole, which could not fail to dissolve, as soon as the influence of the power which had created it should cease to operate. Such was the state of Italy, that I have been informed by an individual worthy of credit, that if the army of Prince Eugène, instead of being victorious, had been beaten on the Piava, a deeply organized revolution would have broken out in Piedmont, and even in the kingdom of Italy, where, nevertheless, the majority of the people fully appreciated the excellent qualities of Eugène. I have been also credibly informed that lists were in readiness, designating those of the French who were to be put to death, as well as those by whom the severe orders of the imperial government had been mitigated, and who were only to be banished. In fact, revolt was as natural to the Italians, as submission to the Germans, and as the fury of despair to the Spanish nation. On this subject I may cite an observation contained in one of the works of Alfieri, published fifteen years before the Spanish war. Taking a cursory view of the different European nations, he regarded the Spaniards as the only people possessed of "sufficient energy to struggle against foreign usurpation." Had I still been near the person of Napoleon, I would most assuredly have resorted to an innocent artifice, which I had several times employed, and placed the work of Alfieri on his table, open at the page I wished him to read. Alfieri's opinion of the Spanish people was in the end fully verified; and I confess I cannot think without shuddering of the torrents of blood which inundated the Peninsula; and for what? To make Joseph Bonaparte a king!

The commencement of 1811 was sufficiently favourable to the

French arms in Spain; but towards the beginning of March, the aspect of affairs changed. The Duke of Belluno, notwithstanding the valour of his troops, was unsuccessful at Chiclana; and from that day the French army could not make head against the combined forces of England and Portugal. Even Masséna, notwithstanding the title of Prince of Esslingen, which he had won under the walls of Vienna, was no longer the favourite child of victory as he had been at Zurich.

Having mentioned Masséna, I may take this opportunity to declare that he did not favour the change of the French government on the foundation of the empire. Masséna loved two things, glory and money; but as to what is termed honours, he only valued those which resulted from the command of an army; and his recollections all bound him to the republic, because the republic recalled to his mind the most brilliant and glorious events of his military career. He was, besides, among the number of the marshals who wished to see a limit put to the ambition of Bonaparte; and he had assuredly done enough, since the commencement of the wars of the republic, to be permitted to enjoy some repose, which his health at that period required. What could he achieve against the English in Portugal? The combined forces of England and Portugal daily augmented, while ours diminished. No efforts were spared by England to gain a superiority in the great struggle in which she was engaged; as her money was lavished profusely, her troops paid well wherever they went, and were abundantly supplied with ammunition and provisions, the French army was compelled, though far from possessing such ample means, to purchase at the same high rate, in order to keep the natives from joining the English party. But even this did not prevent numerous partial insurrections in different places, which rendered all communication with France extremely difficult. Armed bands continually carried off our dispersed soldiers; and the presence of the British troops, supported by the money they spent in the country, excited the inhabitants against us; for it is impossible to suppose that, unsupported by the English, Portugal could have held out a single moment against France. But battles, bad weather, and even want, had so reduced the French force, that it was absolutely necessary our troops should repose, when their enterprises could lead to no results. In this state of things Masséna was recalled, because his health was so materially injured as to render it impossible for him to exert sufficient activity to restore the army to a respectable footing.

Under these circumstances, Bonaparte sent Bertrand into Illyria to supersede Marmont, who was ordered in his turn to relieve Masséna, and take the command of the French army in Portugal. Marmont, on assuming the command, found the troops in a deplorable state. The difficulty of procuring provisions was extreme, and the means he was compelled to employ



Massena

Massena

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for that purpose greatly heightened the evil; at the same time insubordination and want of discipline prevailed to such an alarming degree, that it would be as difficult as painful to depict the situation of our army at this period. Marmont by his steady conduct fortunately succeeded in correcting the disorders which prevailed, and very soon found himself at the head of a well-organized army, amounting to thirty thousand infantry, with forty pieces of artillery; but he had only a very small body of cavalry, and those ill-mounted.

Affairs in Spain at the commencement of 1811, exhibited an aspect not very different from those of Portugal. At first we were uniformly successful, but our advantages were so dearly purchased that the ultimate issue of this struggle might easily have been foreseen, because when a people fight for their homes and their liberties, the invading army must gradually diminish, while at the same time the armed population, imboldened by success, increases in a still more marked progression. Insurrection was now regarded by the Spaniards as a holy and sacred duty, to which the recent meetings of the Cortès in the Isle of Leon, had given, as it were, a legitimate character, since Spain found again, in the remembrance of her ancient privileges, at least the shadow of a government—a centre around which the defenders of the soil of the Peninsula could rally.*

The continental system was the cause, if not of the eventual fall, at least of the rapid fall of Napoleon. This cannot be doubted, if we consider for a moment the brilliant situation of the empire in 1811, and the effect simultaneously produced throughout Europe, by that system which undermined the most powerful throne which ever existed. It was the continental system that Napoleon upheld in Spain; for he had persuaded himself that this system rigorously enforced, would strike a deathblow to the commerce of England; and Duroc besides informed me of a circumstance which is of great weight in this question. Napo-

* Lord Wellington gave Masséna a sound beating at Fuentes d'Onor, on the 5th of May, 1811. It was soon after this battle that Napoleon sent Marmont to succeed Masséna. Advancing on the southern frontier of Portugal, the skilful Soult contrived to take Badajoz from a blundering, wavering Spanish garrison. About this time, however, General Graham, with his British corps, sallied out of Cadiz, and beat the French on the heights of Barrosa, which lie in front of Cadiz, which city the French were then besieging. Encouraged by the successes of our regular armies, the Spanish Guerillas became more and more numerous and daring. By the end of 1811, king Joseph Bonaparte found so many thorns in his usurped crown, that he implored his brother to put it on some other head. Napoleon would not then listen to his prayer. In the course of 1811, a clever plan was laid for liberating Ferdinand from his prison in France, and placing him at the head of affairs in Spain, but this plan was detected by the emissaries of Bonaparte's expert police. Ferdinand's sister, the ex-Queen of Etruria, had also planned an escape to England. Her agents were betrayed, tried by a military commission, and shot—the princess herself was condemned to close confinement in a Roman convent.—*Editor.*

leon, one day, said to him, "I am no longer anxious that Joseph should be King of Spain; and he himself is indifferent about it. I would give the crown to the first comer, who would shut his ports against the English."

Murat had come to Paris on the occasion of the empress's accouchement, and I saw him several times during his stay, for we had always been on the best terms; and I must do him the justice to say, that he never assumed the king but to his courtiers, and those who had known him only as a monarch. Eight or ten days after the birth of the King of Rome, as I was one morning walking in the Champs-Élysées, I met Murat. He was alone, and dressed in plain clothes. We were exactly opposite the gardens of his sister-in-law, the Princess Borghese. "Well, Bourrienne," said Murat, after we had exchanged the usual courtesies, "well, what are you about now?" I informed him how I had been treated by Napoleon; who, that I might not be in Hamburg when the decree of union arrived there, had recalled me to Paris under a show of confidence. I think I still see the handsome and expressive countenance of Joachim when, having addressed him by the titles of Sire and your Majesty, he said to me, "Pshaw! Bourrienne, are we not old comrades? The emperor has treated you unjustly! and to whom has he not been unjust? His displeasure is preferable to his favour, which costs so dear! He says that he made us kings! but did we not make him an emperor! To you, my friend, whom I have known long and intimately, I can make my profession of faith. My sword, my blood, my life, belong to the emperor. When he calls me to the field to combat his enemies, and the enemies of France, I am no longer a king, I resume the rank of a marshal of the empire; but let him require no more. At Naples I will be King of Naples, and I will not sacrifice to his false calculations the life, the well-being, and the interests of my subjects. Let him not imagine that he can treat me as he has treated Louis! For I am ready to defend, even against him, if it must be so, the rights of the people, over whom he has appointed me to rule. Am I then an advanced-guard king?" These last words appeared to me peculiarly appropriate in the mouth of Murat, who had always served in the advanced guard of our armies, and which I thought expressed in a very happy manner the similarity of his situation as a king and a soldier.

I walked with Murat about half an hour. In the course of our conversation, he informed me that his greatest cause of complaint against the emperor was, his having first set him forward, and then abandoned him. "Before I arrived in Naples," continued he, "it was intimated to me that there was a design of assassinating me. What did I do? I entered that city alone, at midnight, in an open carriage, for I would rather have been assassinated at once, than have lived in the constant fear of being

so. I afterwards made a descent on the isle of Capri, which succeeded. I attempted one against Sicily, and am certain it would have also been successful, had the emperor fulfilled his promise of sending the Toulon fleet to second my operations; but he issued contrary orders: *he enacted Mazarin, and wished me to play the part of the adventurous Duke of Guise.* But I see his designs. Now that he has a son on whom he has bestowed the title of King of Rome, he merely wishes the crown of Naples to be considered as a deposit in my hands. He regards Naples as a future annexation to the kingdom of Rome, to which I foresee it is his design to unite the whole of Italy. But let him not urge me too far, for I will oppose him, and conquer, or perish in the attempt."

I had the discretion not to inform Murat, how correctly he had divined the plans of the emperor, and his projects as to Italy; but in regard to the continental system, which, perhaps, the reader will be inclined to call my great battle-horse, I spoke of it as I had done to the Prince of Sweden, and I perceived that he was fully disposed to follow my advice, as experience has sufficiently proved. It was in fact the continental system which separated the interests of Murat from those of the emperor, and which compelled the new King of Naples to form alliances amongst the princes at war with France. Different opinions have been entertained on this subject; mine is, that the marshal of the empire was wrong, but the King of Naples right.

[The penal code of Napoleon, which was in many respects miserably ill-suited to the character of the people of the south, had also its effect in rendering the French odious in Naples. According to General Colletta,

"They made a great abuse of the punishment of the pillory, which may be proper enough in those countries where the sense of shame is common to the people, but most unjust among us, where shame is either null, or of too excessive a nature. This is proved by the two following facts: For some petty larceny they sentenced to the pillory a man of the very lowest class, who was most incredibly ugly, and deformed in person. While this fellow was standing in the pillory many of the spectators mocked him, and laughed at his ugliness, and the wretch answered by mocking and laughing at them in return, thus converting a punishment into a mere scene and a farce.

"At the same time, in a different part of the kingdom, a horrible event happened. A young lady of an honourable family, and daughter of parents of most rigid morals, transported with love for a young man, committed the act of imprudence, and became *enceinte*. More sensible to disgrace than honesty, she endeavoured to produce abortion, but her vigorous health defeated the drugs. She was then shut up in a house for several

months, during which she was assisted and comforted by a kind-hearted old aunt. On being delivered, this unhappy and unnatural mother consented to the exposing of her child during a cold winter night on the public highway, where it miserably perished. Her crime was discovered, and, on ample proof, the court condemned her to a long imprisonment, and to the punishment (according to the code) of the pillory. On the fatal day, the wretched girl, followed by an infamous retinue, and preceded by the public crier, who proclaimed her offence, walked to the place of her punishment; having reached the spot, the hangman stuck a paper on her head, indicating her name, with the fearful addition, "She killed her child!" And then all her delicate limbs were seen to tremble, and she suddenly stopped, so that the pitiless executioner, fancying she was afraid of the pillory, menaced her, and thrust her forward, but she fell with her face to the earth at the foot of the scaffold, because she was suffocated with shame—and was dead!"—*Storia del Reame di Napoli.*

If we add to the errors of the regular code, the horrors of the irregular courts-martial and military tribunals, and then if we take the detested conscription law, which sent the young men of sunny Naples to perish by thousands in northern Germany and the wilds of Poland and Russia, it will easily be understood how unpopular must have been Napoleon who ordered all these things. M. de Bourrienne, however, does not over-estimate the effects of the continental system: it had reduced one half of the kingdom to beggary. In the rich oil country about Gallipoli, Taranto, and Bari—through a large portion of Apulia and Calabria, many people no longer pressed the olives that their rich groves furnished, as, owing to the exclusion of England, America, &c., from the market, the price of oil scarcely paid the expenses of its preparation. Murat, however, was always personally popular with a large portion of the Neapolitan nation. —*Editor.*]

CHAPTER XIX.

1811.

New titles and old names—Napoleon's dislike of literary men—Odes, &c. on the marriage of Napoleon—Chateaubriand and Lemercier—Death of Chenier—Chateaubriand elected his successor—His discourse read by Napoleon—Bonaparte compared to Nero—Suppression of the *Mercur*—M. de Chateaubriand ordered to leave Paris—MM. Lemercier and Esmenard presented to the emperor—Birth of the King of Rome—France in 1811—My return to Hamburg—Government committee established there—Anecdote of the Count de Chaban—Napoleon's misunderstanding with the pope—Cardinal Fesch—Convention of a council—Declaration required from the bishops—Spain in 1811—Certainty of war with Russia—Lauriston supersedes Caulaincourt at St. Petersburg—The war in Spain neglected—Troops of all nations at the disposal of Bonaparte—Levy of national guard—Treaties with France and Austria—Capitulation renewed with Switzerland—Intrigues with Czernischeff.

THE princes and dukes of the empire must pardon me for so often designating them by their republican names. The marshals set less value on their titles of nobility, than the dukes and counts selected from among the civilians. Of all the sons of the republic, Regnauld de Saint-Jean-d'Angély was the most gratified at being a count, whilst among the fathers of the revolution, no one could regard with greater disdain than Fouché, his title of Duke of Otranto; he congratulated himself upon its possession only once, and that was after the fall of the empire.

I have expressed my dislike of Fouché, and the reason of that feeling was, that I could not endure his system of making the police a government within a government. He had left Paris before my return thither, but I had frequent occasion to speak of that famous personage to Savary, who, for the reason above assigned, I do not always term Duke de Rovigo. Savary knew better than any one the fallacious measures of Fouché's administration, since he was his successor. Fouché, under pretence of encouraging men of letters, though well aware that the emperor was hostile to them, intended only to bring them into contempt, by making them write verses at command. It was easily seen that Napoleon nourished a profound dislike of literary

men, though we must not conclude that he wished the public to be aware of that dislike. Those besides who devoted their pens to blazon his glory and his power, were sure to be received by him with distinction. On the other hand, as Charlemagne and Louis XIV. owed a portion of the splendour of their reigns to the lustre reflected on them by literature, he wished to appear to patronize authors, provided that they never discussed questions relating to philosophy, the independence of mankind, and civil and political rights. With regard to men of science, it was wholly different; those he held in real estimation; but men of letters, properly so called, were considered by him merely as a sprig in his imperial crown. The marriage of the emperor with an arch-duchess of Austria had set all the court poets to work, and in this contest of praise and flattery, it must be confessed that the false gods were vanquished by the true God; for in spite of their fulsome verses, not one of the disciples of Apollo could exceed the extravagance of the bishops in their pastoral letters. At a time when so many were striving to force themselves into notice, there still existed a feeling of esteem in the public mind for men of superior talent, who remained independent amidst the general corruption; such was M. Lemercier; such was M. de Chateaubriand. I was in Paris in the spring of 1811, at the period of Chenier's death, when the numerous friends whom Chateaubriand possessed in the second class of the Institute, looked to him as the successor of Chenier. This was more than a mere literary question, not only on account of the high literary reputation of M. de Chateaubriand already possessed, but of the recollection of his noble conduct at the period of the Duke d'Enghien's death, which was yet fresh in the memory of every one; and besides, no person could be ignorant of the immeasurable difference of opinion between Chenier and M. de Chateaubriand.

M. de Chateaubriand obtained a great majority of votes, and was elected a member of the Institute. This opened a wide field for conjecture in Paris. Every one was anxious to see how the author of the "*Génie du Christianisme*," the faithful defender of the Bourbons, would bend his eloquence to pronounce the eulogium of a regicide. The time for the admission of the new member of the Institute arrived; but in his discourse, copies of which were circulated in Paris, he had ventured to allude to the death of Louis XVI., and to raise his voice against the regicides. This did not displease Napoleon; but, M. de Chateaubriand also made a profession of faith in favour of liberty, which, he said, found refuge amongst men of letters when banished from the politic body. This was great boldness, for the time; for though Bonaparte was secretly gratified at seeing the judges of Louis XVI. scourged by an heroic pen, yet those men held the highest situations under the government. Cambacérès filled the second place in the em-

pire, although at a great distance from the first: Merlin de Douay was also in power: and it is known how much liberty was stifled and hidden beneath the dazzling illusion of what is termed glory. M. M. Suard, de Ségur, de Fontanes, and two or three other members of the same class of the Institute, whose names I cannot recollect, were of opinion that the discourse should be read; but it was opposed by the majority. When Napoleon was informed of what had passed, he demanded a sight of the address, which was presented to him by M. Daru. After having perused it, he exclaimed, "Had this discourse been delivered, I would have shut the gates of the Institute, and thrown M. de Chateaubriand into a dungeon for life." The storm long raged; at length means of conciliation were tried. The emperor required M. de Chateaubriand to prepare another discourse, which the latter refused to do, in spite of every menace. Madame Gay applied to Madame Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, who interested her husband in favour of the author of the "*Génie du Christianisme*." M. de Montalivet and Savary also acted on this occasion in the most praiseworthy manner; and succeeded in appeasing the first transports of the emperor's rage. But the name of Chateaubriand constantly called to mind the circumstances which had occasioned him to give in his resignation; and besides, Napoleon had another complaint against him. He had published in the *Mercur*, an article on a work of M. Alexandre de Laborde. In that article, which was eagerly read in Paris, and which caused the suppression of the *Mercur*, occurred the famous phrase which has been since so often repeated: "In vain a Nero triumphs: Tacitus is already born in his empire." This quotation leads me to repeat an observation which, I believe, I have already made, viz., that it is a manifest exaggeration to compare Bonaparte to Nero. Napoleon's ambition might blind his vision to political crimes; but in private life, no man could evince less disposition to cruelty. A proof that he bore little resemblance to Nero, is that his anger against the author of the article in question vented itself in mere words. "What!" exclaimed he, "does Chateaubriand think I am a fool, and that I do not know what he means? If he go on this way, I will have him sabred on the steps of the Tuileries." This language is quite characteristic of Bonaparte; but it was uttered in the first ebullition of his wrath. Napoleon merely threatened, but Nero would have made good his threat; and in such a case, there is surely some difference between words and deeds.

The discourse of M. de Chateaubriand revived Napoleon's former enmity against him; he received an order to quit Paris. M. Daru returned to him the manuscript of his discourse, which had been read by Bonaparte, who cancelled some passages with a pencil.

Such were the principal circumstances attending the nomina-

tion of Chateaubriand to the Institute. I shall now relate some others which occurred on a previous occasion, viz., on the election of an old and worthy visiter at Malmaison, M. Lemercier, and which will serve to show one of those strange inconsistencies so frequent in the character of Napoleon.

After the foundation of the empire, M. Lemercier ceased to present himself at the Tuileries, Saint-Cloud, or at Malmaison, though he was often seen in the saloons of Madame Bonaparte, while she yet hoped not to become a queen. Two places were vacant at once in the second class of the Institute, which still contained a party favourable to liberty. This party, finding it impossible to influence the nomination of both members, contented itself with naming one; it being the mutual condition in return for favouring the government candidate, that the government party should not oppose the choice of the liberals. The liberal party selected M. Lemercier; but as they knew his former connexion with Bonaparte had been broken off, they wished first to ascertain that he would do nothing to commit their choice. Chenier was empowered to inquire whether M. Lemercier would refuse to accompany them to the Tuileries, when they repaired thither in a body; and whether, on his election, he would comply with the usual ceremony of being presented to the emperor. M. Lemercier replied, that he would do nothing contrary to the customs and usages of the body to which he might belong: he was accordingly elected. The government candidate was M. Esmenard, who was also elected. The two new members were presented to the emperor on the same day. On this occasion upwards of four hundred persons were present in the saloon, from one of whom I received these details. When the emperor saw M. Lemercier, for whom he had long pretended great friendship, he said to him, in a kind tone, "Well, Lemercier, you are now installed." Lemercier respectfully bowed to the emperor, but without uttering a word in reply. Napoleon was mortified at this silence; but without saying any thing more to Lemercier, he turned to Esmenard, the member who should have been most acceptable to him, and vented upon him the whole weight of his indignation, in a manner equally unfeeling and unjust. "Well, Esmenard," said he, "do you still hold your place in the police?" These words were spoken in so loud a tone, as to be heard by all present; and it was doubtless this cruel and ambiguous speech, which furnished the enemies of Esmenard with arms to attack his reputation as a man of honour, and to give an appearance of disgrace to those functions which he exercised with so much zeal and ability.

When, at the commencement of 1811, I left Paris, I had ceased to delude myself respecting the brilliant career which seemed opening before me during the consulate. I clearly perceived that since Bonaparte, instead of receiving me as I ex-

pected, had refused to see me at all, the calumnies of my enemies were triumphant, and that I had nothing to hope for from an absolute ruler, whose past injustice rendered him the more unjust. He now possessed what he had so long and ardently wished for, a son of his own—an inheritor of his name, his power, and his throne. I must take this opportunity of stating, that the malevolent and infamous rumours spread abroad respecting the birth of the King of Rome were wholly without foundation. My friend Corvisart, who did not for a single instant leave Maria Louisa, during her long and painful labour, removed from my mind every doubt on the subject. It is as true that the young prince, for whom the emperor of Austria answered at the font, was the son of Napoleon and the arch-duchess Maria Louisa, as it is false that Bonaparte was the father of the first child of Hortense. The birth of the son of Napoleon was hailed with general enthusiasm.* The emperor was at the height of his power from the period of the birth of his son, until the reverse he experienced after the battle of the Moskowa. The empire, including the states possessed by the imperial family, contained nearly fifty-seven millions of inhabitants; but the period was fast approaching when this power, unparalleled in modern times, was to moulder away, and fall by its own weight.

As I took the most lively interest in all that concerned the Hanse Towns, my first care on returning to Hamburg, was to collect information from the most respectable sources concerning the influential members of the new government. Davoust was at its head. On his arrival, he had established in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in Swedish Pomerania and in Stralsund, the capital of that province, military posts and custom-houses, and that in a time of profound peace with those countries, and without any previous declaration. The omnipotence of Napoleon,

* The reader will find some very interesting notices of this great event and the fêtes which followed, in the *Memoirs of the Duchess of Abrantès*. It appears from *Mademoiselle Avrillion's memoirs*, that Napoleon was the first to announce to Josephine the birth of his son—a singular departure from all delicacy of feeling. "In such circumstances," said *Mademoiselle*, "all that passes in the breast of a woman is inexplicable: the empress testified the greatest and the most sincere joy at an event which was considered by almost all Frenchmen as an immense happiness for the empire. * * * She showed me, with a sort of pride, the letter the emperor had written her with his own hand, and in which he added, after having said 'My dear Josephine I have a son,' these other words, 'I am at the summit of my happiness.'"

"Yes!" said the Empress Josephine to me, with visible emotion, though without any sign of jealousy or ill-humour, 'Yes! he must be very happy!' and then after drying some tears that escaped her, she continued, "and I, also—I too ought to be very happy at the happiness of the emperor—happy to see the fulfilment of the wishes of all France—I now gather the fruits of my painful sacrifices, since they have secured the prosperity of France."

The little King of Rome, Napoleon Francis Bonaparte, was born on the 20th of March, 1811.—*Editor*.

and the terror inspired by the name of Davoust, overcame all obstacles which might have opposed those iniquitous usurpations. The weak were forced to yield to the strong.

At Hamburg a government committee was formed, consisting of the Prince of Eckmühl, as president, Count de Chaban, counsellor of state, who superintended the departments of the interior and finance, and of M. Faure, counsellor of state, who was appointed to form and regulate the courts of law. I had sometimes met M. de Chaban at Malmaison. He was distantly related to Josephine, and had formerly been an officer in the French guards. He was compelled to emigrate, having been subjected to every species of persecution during the revolution. I recollect an anecdote, which but too well depicts those disastrous times. The Count de Chaban, being obliged to cross France during the reign of terror, was compelled to assume a disguise. He accordingly provided himself with a smock-frock, a cart and horses, and a load of corn. In this manner he journeyed from place to place, till he reached the frontiers. He stopped at Rochambeau, in the Vendomais, where he was recognised by the Marshal de Rochambeau, who, to guard against exciting any suspicion among his servants, treated him as if he had really been a carman, and said to him, "You may dine in the kitchen." M. de Chaban was among the first of the emigrants who returned to France after the 18th Brumaire. He was at first made sub-prefect of Vendome; but, on the union of Tuscany with France, Napoleon created him a member of the junta appointed to regulate the affairs of Tuscany. He next became prefect of Coblenz and Brussels, was made a count by Bonaparte, and was afterwards chosen a member of the government committee at Hamburg. M. de Chaban was a man of upright principles, and he discharged his various functions in a way that commanded esteem and attachment.

During my stay in Hamburg, which on this occasion was not very long, Napoleon's attention was particularly engaged by the campaign of Portugal and his discussions with the pope. At this period, the thunderbolts of Rome were not very alarming. Yet precautions were taken to keep secret the excommunication which Pius VII. had pronounced against Napoleon. The event, however, got reported about, and a party in favour of the pope speedily rose up among the clergy, and more particularly among the fanatics. Napoleon sent to Savona the Archbishops of Nantz, Bourges, Treves, and Tours, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation with his holiness. But all their endeavours were unavailing, and after staying a month at Savona, they returned to Paris without having done any thing. But Napoleon was not discouraged by this first disappointment, and he shortly afterwards sent a second deputation, which experienced the same fate as the first. Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, took part with the pope. For this fact I can vouch, though I cannot

or an answer which he is said to have made to the emperor. I have been informed, that when Napoleon was one day speaking to his uncle about the pope's obstinacy, the cardinal made some observations to him on his (Bonaparte's) conduct to the holy father, upon which Napoleon flew into a passion, and said that the pope and he were two old fools. "As for the pope," said he, "he is too obstinate to listen to any thing. No, I am determined he shall never have Rome again.... He will not remain at Savona, and where does he wish I should send him?"—"To heaven, perhaps," replied the cardinal.

The truth is, the emperor was violently irritated against Pius VII. Observing with uneasiness, the differences and difficulties to which all these dissensions gave rise, he was anxious to put a stop to them. As the pope would not listen to any propositions that were made to him, Napoleon convoked a council, which assembled in Paris, and at which several Italian bishops were present. The pope insisted that the temporal and spiritual interests should be discussed together; and, however disposed a certain number of prelates, particularly the Italians, might be to separate these two points of discussion, yet the influence of the church, and well-contrived intrigues, gradually gave preponderance to the wishes of the pope. The emperor, having discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on by several of the bishops and archbishops who had seats in the council, determined to get rid of some of them, and the Bishops of Ghent, Troyes, Tournay, and Toulouse, were arrested and sent to Vincennes. They were superseded by others. He wished to dissolve the council, which he saw was making no advance towards the object he had in view, and fearing that it might adopt some act at variance with his supreme wish, every member of the council was individually required to make a declaration that the proposed changes were conformable to the laws of the church. It was said at the time, that they were unanimous in this individual declaration, though it is certain that in the sittings of the council opinions were divided. I know not what his holiness thought of these written opinions compared with the verbal opinions that had been delivered; but certain it is, though still a captive at Savona, he refused to adhere to the concessions granted in the secret declarations.

The conflicts which took place in Spain during the summer of 1811, were unattended by any decisive results. Some brilliant events, indeed, attested the courage of our troops, and the skill of our generals. Such were the battle of Albufera and the taking of Tarragona, while Wellington was obliged to raise the siege of Badajos.* These advantages, which were attended only by glory, encouraged Napoleon in the hope of triumphing in the Peninsula, and enabled him to enjoy the brilliant fêtes

* The reader will remember that the British, on pretty good ground, claimed the victory at Albufera.—*Editor.*

which took place at Paris, in celebration of the birth of the King of Rome.

On his return from a tour in Holland, at the end of October, Napoleon clearly saw that a rupture with Russia was inevitable. In vain he sent Lauriston, as ambassador to St. Petersburg, to supersede Caulaincourt, who would no longer remain there: all the diplomatic skill in the world could effect nothing with a powerful government, which had already formed its determination. All the cabinets in Europe were now unanimous in wishing for the overthrow of Napoleon's power, and the people no less ardently wished for an order of things less fatal to their trade and industry. In the state to which Europe was reduced, no one could counteract the wish of Russia and her allies to go to war with France—Lauriston, no more than Caulaincourt.

The continental war for which Napoleon was now obliged to prepare, forced him to neglect Spain, and to leave his interests in that country in a state of real danger. Indeed, his occupation of Spain, and his well-known wish to maintain himself there, were additional motives for inducing the powers of Europe to enter upon a war which would necessarily divide Napoleon's forces. All at once, the troops which were in Italy and the north of Germany moved towards the frontiers of the Russian empire. In March, 1811, the emperor had all the military forces of Europe at his disposal. It was curious to see this union of nations, distinguished by difference of manners, language, religion, and interests, all ready to fight for one man, against a power who had done nothing to offend them. Prussia herself, though she could not pardon the injuries he had inflicted upon her, joined his alliance, but with the intention of breaking it on the first opportunity. When the war with Russia was first spoken of, Duroc and I had frequent conversations on the subject. I communicated to him all the intelligence I received from abroad respecting that vast enterprise. The Duke de Rovigo shared all my forebodings; and if he, and those who thought like him had been listened to, the war would probably have been avoided. Through him I learned who were the individuals who urged the invasion. The eager ambition with which they looked forward to viceroalties, duchies, and endowments, blinded them to the possibility of seeing the Cossacks in Paris.

The gigantic enterprise being determined on, vast preparations were made for carrying it into effect. Before his departure, Napoleon, who was to take with him all the disposable troops, caused a *senatus consultum* to be issued for levying the national guards, who were divided into three corps. He also arranged his diplomatic affairs, by concluding, in February, 1812, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Prussia, by virtue of which the two contracting powers mutually guaranteed the integrity of their own possessions, and the European possessions of the Ottoman Porte, because that power was then at war with

Russia. A similar treaty was concluded about the beginning of March with Austria, and about the end of the same month, Napoleon renewed the capitulation of France and Switzerland. At length, in the month of April, there came to light an evident proof of the success which had attended M. Czernischeff's intrigues in Paris. It was ascertained that a clerk in the war-office, named Michel, had communicated to him the situation of the French forces in Germany. Michel was condemned to death, for the time was gone by, when Bonaparte, confident in his genius and good fortune, could communicate his plans to the spy of General Mélas.

CHAPTER XX.

1811—1812.

Attacks of my enemies—Memorial to the emperor—Ogier de la Saussaye, and the mysterious box—Removal of the pope to Fontainebleau—Anecdote of his holiness and M. Denon—Departure of Napoleon and Maria Louisa for Dresden—Situation of affairs in Spain and Portugal—Rapp's account of the emperor's journey to Dantzic—Mutual wish for war on the part of Napoleon and Alexander—Sweden and Turkey—Napoleon's vain attempt to detach Sweden from her alliance with Russia.

I TRUST, that whatever my readers may reproach me with, they cannot complain of my speaking too frequently of myself. I hide myself as much as possible behind those important personages whom I have known intimately, and with whom I have endeavoured to make others acquainted. However, there are some circumstances in which I am personally concerned, and the mention of which I cannot with propriety omit. Such are the infamous calumnies which incessantly and bitterly pursued me from the moment when my functions in Hamburg ceased by the union of the Hanse Towns with the great metropolitan empire. The little that I have already stated on this subject, will have sufficed to point out the quarter whence these calumnies proceeded. I suppose, that by assailing me, Davoust consoled himself for his disappointment in not becoming viceroy of Poland.

In March, 1812, when I saw that an approaching war would necessarily take Napoleon from France, weary of the persecutions, and even threats, by which I was every day assailed, I addressed to the emperor a memorial explaining my conduct, and showing the folly and wickedness of my accusers. Among them was a certain Ogier de la Saussaye, who had sent a report

to the emperor, in which the principal charge was, that I had carried off a box containing important papers belonging to the first consul. The accusation of Ogier de la Saussaye, terminated thus: "I add to my report the interrogatories of MM. Westphalen, Osy, Chapeau Rouge, Ankscher, Thierry, and Gumprecht-Mares. The evidence of the latter bears principally on a *certain mysterious box, a secret upon which it is impossible to throw any light, but the reality of which we are bound to believe.*" These are his words. The affair of the mysterious box has been already explained. I have already informed the reader that I put my papers into a box, which I buried lest it should be stolen from me. But for that precaution I should not have been able to lay before the reader the autograph documents in my possession, and which I imagine form the most essential part of these volumes. In my memorial to the emperor, I said, in allusion to the passage above quoted, "This, sire, is the most atrocious part of Ogier's report. Gumprecht being questioned on this point, replies, that the accuser has probably, as well as himself, seen the circumstance mentioned in an infamous pamphlet which appeared seven or eight years ago. It was, I think, entitled '*Le Secret du Cabinet des Tuileries,*' and was very likely, at the time of its appearance, denounced by the police. In that libel it is stated, among a thousand other calumnies equally false and absurd, that *When I left the first consul I carried away a box full of important papers; that I was in consequence sent to the Temple, where your brother Joseph came to me and offered me my liberation, and a million of francs, if I would restore the papers, which I refused to do, &c.* Ogier, instead of looking for this libel in Hamburg, where I read it, has the impudence to give credit to the charge, the truth of which could have been ascertained immediately: and he adds, *This secret we are bound to believe.* Your majesty knows whether I was ever in the Temple, and whether Joseph ever made such an offer to me." I entreated that the emperor would do me the favour to bring me to trial; for, certainly, I should have regarded that as a favour, rather than to remain as I was, exposed to vague accusations; yet all my solicitations were in vain. My letter to the emperor remained unanswered; but though Bonaparte could not spare a few moments to reply to an old friend, I learned through Duroc the contempt he cherished for my accusers. Duroc advised me not to be uneasy, and that in all probability the emperor's prejudices against me would be speedily overcome; and I must say, that if they were not overcome, it was neither the fault of Duroc nor Savary, who knew how to estimate the miserable intrigues just alluded to.

Napoleon was at length determined to extend the bounds of his empire, or rather to avenge the injuries which Russia had committed against his continental system. Yet, before he departed for Germany, the resolute refusal of the pope to submit

to any arrangement, occasionally claimed his consideration. Savona did not appear to him a sufficiently secure residence for such a prisoner. He feared that when all his strength should be removed towards the Niemen, the English might carry off the pope, or that the Italians, excited by the clergy, whose dissatisfaction was general in Italy, would stir up those religious dissensions which are always fatal and difficult to quell. With the view, therefore, of keeping the pope under his control, he removed him to Fontainebleau, and even at one time thought of bringing him to Paris.

The emperor appointed M. Denon to reside with the pope at Fontainebleau; and to afford his illustrious prisoner the society of such a man, was certainly a delicate mark of attention on the part of Napoleon. When speaking of his residence with Pius VII., M. Denon related to me the following anecdote: "The pope," said he, "was much attached to me. He always addressed me by the appellation *my son*, and he loved to converse with me, especially on the subject of the Egyptian expedition. One day he asked me for my work on Egypt, which he said he wished to read; and, as you know, it is not quite orthodox, and does not perfectly agree with the creation of the world according to Genesis, I at first hesitated; but the pope insisted, and at length I complied with his wish. The holy father assured me that he had been much interested by the perusal of the book. I made some allusion to the delicate points; upon which he said, 'No matter, no matter, my son; all that is exceedingly curious, and I must confess entirely new to me.' I then," continued M. Denon, "told his holiness why I hesitated to lend him the work, which, I observed, he had excommunicated, together with its author. 'Excommunicated you, my son?' resumed the pope, in a tone of affectionate concern. 'I am very sorry for it, and I assure you I was far from being aware of any such thing.'" When M. Denon related to me this anecdote, he told me how greatly he had admired the virtues and resignation of the holy father; but he added, that it would nevertheless have been easier to make him a martyr, than to induce him to yield on any point, until he should be restored to the temporal sovereignty of Rome, of which he considered himself the depositary, and which he would not endure the reproach of having willingly sacrificed. After settling the place of the pope's residence, Napoleon set off for Dresden, accompanied by Maria Louisa, who had expressed a wish to see her father.*

* "Come, you, who would form a correct idea of the domination exercised by Napoleon over Europe; who desire to fathom the depth of terror into which the sovereigns of the continent were plunged; come, transport yourselves with me to Dresden, and there contemplate that mighty chief at the proudest period of his glory—so near to that of his humiliation!"

"The emperor occupied the principal apartments of the palace. He brought

The Russian enterprise, the most gigantic, perhaps, the genius of man ever conceived, since the conquest of India by Alexander, now absorbed universal attention, and defied the calculations of reason. The Manzanares was forgotten, and nothing was thought of but the Niemen, already so celebrated by the raft of Tilsit. Thither, as towards a common centre, were moving men, horses, provisions, and baggage of every kind, from all parts of Europe. The hopes of our generals, and the fears of all prudent men, were directed to Russia. The war in Spain, which was becoming more and more unfortunate, excited but a feeble interest; and our most distinguished officers looked upon it as a disgrace to be sent to the Peninsula. In short, it was easy to foresee that the period was not far distant when the French would be obliged to recross the Pyrenees. Though the truth was concealed from the emperor on many subjects, yet he was not deceived as to the situation of Spain in the spring of 1812. In February the Duke of Ragusa* had frankly informed him that the armies of Spain and Portugal could not, without considerable reinforcements of men and money, hope for any important advantages, since Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz had fallen into the hands of the English.

with him almost the whole of his household, and formed a regular establishment. The King of Saxony was nothing: it was constantly at Napoleon's apartments that the sovereigns and their families were assembled, by cards of invitation from the grand marshal of his palace. Private individuals were sometimes admitted; I had myself that honour, on the day of my appointment to Poland. The emperor held his levees as usual at nine. Then you should have seen in what numbers, with what submissive timidity, a crowd of potentates—mixed and confounded, among the courtiers, and often entirely overlooked by them—awaited in fearful expectation the moment of appearing before the new arbiter of their destinies! You should have heard the frivolous questions which the emperor put to them, and the humble answers which they ventured to hazard! What Phædra said of Hippolytus, may be justly applied to Napoleon's residence at Dresden:

‘ Even at the altars where I seem’d to pray,
This was the real god of all my vows.’

“ Napoleon was, in fact, the god of Dresden, the only king among all the kings assembled there—the king of kings!—on *him* all eyes were turned; in *his* apartments, and around *his* person, were collected the august guests who filled the palace of the King of Saxony. The throng of foreigners, of officers, of courtiers—the arrival and departure of couriers, crossing one another in every direction; the mass of people hurrying to the gates of the palace, at the least movement of the emperor, crowding upon his steps, gazing at him with an air of mingled admiration and astonishment—the expectation of the future strongly painted in every face, the confidence on one side, the anxiety on the other—all these together, presented the vastest and most interesting picture, the most brilliant and dazzling monument ever yet raised to the power of Napoleon! He had now certainly attained the zenith of his glory. He might hold his elevated station; but to surpass it seemed impossible.”—*Histoire de l’Ambassade dans le Grand Duché de Varsovie, en 1812.* Par M. de Pradt, Archevêque de Malines, alors Ambassadeur à Varsovie. (*Editor.*)

* Marshal Marmont.—*Editor.*

Before he commenced his great operations on the Niemen and the Volga, Napoleon made a journey to Dantzic, and Rapp, who was then governor of that city, informed me of some curious particulars connected with the imperial visit. The fact is, that if Rapp's advice had been listened to, and had been supported by men higher in rank than himself, Bonaparte would not have braved the chances of the Russian war until those chances turned against him. Speaking to me of the Russians, Rapp said, "Those will soon be as wise as we are! Every time we go to war with them, we teach them how to beat us." I was struck with the originality and truth of this observation, which, at the time I heard it, was new, though it has been often repeated since.

"On leaving Dresden," said Rapp to me, "Napoleon came to Dantzic. I expected a dressing; for, to tell you the truth, I had treated very cavalierly both his custom-house and its officers, who were raising up as many enemies to France as there were inhabitants in my government. I had also warned him of all that has since happened in Russia, but I assure you I did not think myself quite so good a prophet. In the beginning of 1812, I thus wrote to him: 'If your majesty should experience reverses, you may depend on it that both Russians and Germans will rise up in a mass to shake off the yoke. There will be a crusade, and all your allies will abandon you. Even the King of Bavaria, on whom you rely so confidently, will join the coalition. I except only the King of Saxony. He, perhaps, might remain faithful to you; but his subjects will force him to make common cause with your enemies.' The King of Naples," continued Rapp, "who had the command of the cavalry, had been to Dantzic before the emperor. He did not seem to take a more favourable view of the approaching campaign than I did. Murat was dissatisfied that the emperor would not consent to his rejoining him in Dresden; and he said that he would rather be a captain of grenadiers than a king such as he was."

Here I interrupted Rapp to tell him what had fallen from Murat when I met him in the Champs-Élysées. "Bah!" resumed Rapp, "Murat, brave as he was, was a craven in Napoleon's presence. On the emperor's arrival in Dantzic, the first thing of which he spoke to me was the alliance he had just then concluded with Prussia and Austria. I could not refrain from telling him that we did a great deal of mischief as allies; a fact of which I was assured from the reports daily transmitted to me respecting the conduct of our troops. Bonaparte tossed his head, as you know he was in the habit of doing when he was displeased. After a moment's silence, dropping the familiar *thée* and *thou*, he said, 'Monsieur le Général, this is a torrent which must be allowed to run itself out. It will not last long. I must first ascertain whether Alexander decidedly wishes for war.' Then, suddenly changing the subject of conversation,

he said, 'Have you not lately observed something extraordinary in Murat? I think he is quite altered. Is he ill?'—'Sire,' replied I, 'Murat is not ill, but he is out of spirits.'—'Out of spirits; but why? Is he not satisfied with being a king?'—'Sire, Murat says he is no king.'—'That is his own fault. Why does he make himself a Neapolitan. Why is he not a Frenchman? When he is in his kingdom he commits all sorts of follies. He favours the trade of England; that I will not suffer.'

"When," continued Rapp, "he spoke of the favour extended by Murat to the trade between Naples and England, I thought my turn would come next; but I was deceived. No more was said on the subject; and when I was about to take my leave, the emperor said to me, as when in his best of humours, 'Rapp, you will sup with me this evening.' I accordingly supped that evening with the emperor, who had also invited the King of Naples and Berthier. Next day, the emperor visited the fortress, and afterwards returned to the government-palace, where he received the civil and military authorities. He again invited Murat, Berthier, and me to supper. When we first sat down to table, we were all very dull, for the emperor was silent; and, as you well know, under such circumstances, not even Murat himself dared to be the first to speak to him. At length, Napoleon, addressing me, inquired how far it was from Cadiz to Dantzic? 'Too far, sire,' replied I.—'I understand you, Monsieur le Général; but in a few months the distance will be still greater.'—'So much the worse, sire!' Here there was another pause. Neither Murat nor Berthier, on whom the emperor fixed a scrutinizing glance, uttered a word; and Napoleon again broke silence, but without addressing any one of us in particular: 'Gentlemen,' said he, in a solemn, and rather low tone of voice, 'I see plainly, that you are none of you inclined to fight again. The King of Naples does not wish to leave the fine climate of his dominions; Berthier wishes to enjoy the diversion of the chase at his estate of Grosbois; and Rapp is impatient to be back to his hotel in Paris.' Would you believe it," pursued Rapp, "that neither Murat nor Berthier said a word in reply? and the ball again came to me. I told him frankly, that what he said was perfectly true; and the King of Naples and the Prince of Neufchâtel complimented me on my spirit, and observed that I was quite right in saying what I did. 'Well,' said I, 'since it was so very right, why did you not follow my example, and why leave me to say all?' You cannot conceive," added Rapp, "how confounded they both were; and especially Murat, though he was very differently situated from Berthier.

The negotiations which Bonaparte opened with Alexander, when he yet wished to seem averse to war, resembled those oratorical paraphrases which do not prevent us coming to the

conclusion we wish. The two emperors equally desired war; the one with the view of consolidating his power, and the other in the hope of freeing himself from a yoke which threatened to reduce him to a state of vassalage; for it was little short of this, to require a power like Russia to close her ports against England, for the mere purpose of favouring the interests of France. At that time, only two European powers were not tied to Napoleon's fate—Sweden and Turkey. Napoleon was anxious to gain the alliance of those two powers. With respect to Sweden, his efforts were vain: and though, in fact, Turkey was then at war with Russia, yet the grand seignior was not now, as at the time of Sebastiani's embassy, subject to the influence of France.

The peace, which was soon concluded at Bucharest, between Russia and Turkey, increased Napoleon's embarrassment. The left of the Russian army, secured by the neutrality of Turkey, was reinforced by Bagration's corps from Moldavia: it subsequently occupied the right of the Beresina, and destroyed the last hope of saving the wrecks of the French army, which was now reduced one-half. It is difficult to conceive how Turkey could have allowed the consideration of injuries she had received from France to induce her to terminate her war with Russia, when France was attacking that power with immense forces. The Turks had never a fairer opportunity for taking revenge on Russia, and, unfortunately for Napoleon, they suffered it to escape.*

Napoleon was not more successful when he sought the alliance of a prince whose fortune he had made, and who was allied to his family, but with whom he had never been on terms of good understanding. The Emperor Alexander had a considerable corps of troops in Finland, destined to protect that country against the Swedes; Napoleon having consented to that occupation, in order to gain the provisional consent of Alexander to the invasion of Spain. What was the course pursued by Napoleon, when, being at war with Russia, he wished to detach Sweden from her alliance with Alexander? He intimated to Bernadotte, that he had a sure opportunity of retaking

*This important treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey, through the mediation of Great Britain, was admirably conducted and brought to a most successful issue by Sir Stratford, then Mr. S. Canning, and a young man and a very young diplomatist. Sir Stratford, like his cousin, the late Mr. G. Canning, has gained high literary honours as well as political ones. He is the author of a magnificent ode on the fall of Bonaparte, a production with which the late Lord Byron was enchanted. It is somewhat curious that three years ago the court of Russia should have positively refused to receive as British ambassador the distinguished individual who, twenty-four years ago, did their country such signal service. Such, however, was the fact, and after long delays, and many heart-burnings, during which the Emperor Nicholas would state no motives for his almost unprecedented refusal, Lord Durham was appointed by the present cabinet to supply Sir Stratford Canning's place.—*Editor.*

Finland; a conquest which would gratify his subjects, and win their attachment to him. By this alliance Napoleon wished to force Alexander not to withdraw the troops, who were in the north of his empire, but rather to augment their numbers, in order to cover Finland and St. Petersburg. It was thus that Napoleon endeavoured to draw the prince royal into his coalition. It was of little consequence to Napoleon whether Bernadotte succeeded or not. The Emperor Alexander would nevertheless have been obliged to increase his force in Finland; that was all that Napoleon wished. In the gigantic struggle upon which France and Russia were about to enter, the most trivial alliance was not to be neglected. In January, 1812, Davoust invaded Swedish Pomerania without any declaration of war, and without any apparent motive. Was this inconceivable violation of territory likely to dispose the Prince Royal of Sweden to the proposed alliance, even had that alliance not been adverse to the interests of his country? That was impossible; and Bernadotte took the part which was expected of him. He rejected the offers of Napoleon, and prepared for coming events.

The Emperor Alexander wished to withdraw his force from Finland, for the purpose of more effectively opposing the immense army which threatened his states. Unwilling to expose Finland to an attack on the part of Sweden, he had an interview, on the 28th of August, 1812, at Abo, with the prince royal, to come to an arrangement with him for uniting their interests. I know that the Emperor of Russia pledged himself, whatever might happen, to protect Bernadotte against the fate of the new dynasties—to guarantee the possession of his throne—and promised that he should have Norway as a compensation for Finland. He even went so far as to hint that Bernadotte might supersede Napoleon. Bernadotte adopted all the propositions of Alexander, and from that moment Sweden made common cause against Napoleon. The prince royal's conduct has been much blamed; but the question resolved itself into one of mere political interest. Could Bernadotte, a Swede by adoption, prefer the alliance of an ambitious sovereign, whose vengeance he had to fear, and who had sanctioned the seizure of Finland, to that of a powerful monarch, his formidable neighbour, his protector in Sweden, and whose hostility might effectually support the hereditary claims of young Gustavus? Sweden, in joining France, would thereby have declared herself the enemy of England. Where, then, would have been her navy, her trade, and even her existence?

CHAPTER XXI.

1812.

Changeableness of Bonaparte's plans and opinions—Articles for the *Moniteur* dictated by the first consul—The protocol of the congress of Châtillon—Conversations with Davoust at Hamburg—Promise of the viceroyalty of Poland—Hope and disappointment of the Poles—Influence of illusion on Bonaparte—The French in Moscow—Disasters of the retreat—Mallet's conspiracy—Intelligence of the affair communicated to Napoleon at Smolensko—Circumstances detailed by Rapp—Real motives of Napoleon's return to Paris—Murat, Ney, and Eugène—Power of the Italians to endure cold—Napoleon's exertions to repair his losses—Defection of General Yorck—Convocation of a privy council—War resolved on—Wavering of the pope—Useless negotiations with Vienna—Maria Louisa appointed Regent.

It may now be asked whether Bonaparte, previous to entering upon the last campaign, had resolved on restoring Poland to independence. The fact is, that Bonaparte, as emperor, never entertained any positive wish to re-establish the old kingdom of Poland, though at a previous period he was strongly inclined to that re-establishment, of which he felt the necessity. He may have said that he would re-establish the kingdom of Poland, but I must beg leave to say, that that is no reason for believing that he entertained any such design. He had said, and even sworn, that he would never aggrandize the territory of the empire! The changeableness of Bonaparte's ideas, plans, and projects, renders it difficult to seize them; but they may be best understood, when it is considered that all Napoleon's plans and conceptions varied with his fortune. Thus, it is not unlikely that he might at one time have considered the re-establishment of Poland as essential to European policy, and afterwards have regarded it as adverse to the development of his ambition.* Who can venture to guess what passed in his mind, when dazzled by his glory at Dresden; and whether, in one of his dreams, he might not have regarded the empire of the Jagellons as another gem in the imperial diadem? The truth is, that Bonaparte, when general-in-chief of the army of Egypt and first consul, had deeply at heart the avenging the dismemberment of Poland, and I have often conversed with him on this most

* As the Polish question still remains of the highest interest, we shall give a short historical sketch of it.—*Editor.*

interesting subject, upon which we entirely concurred in opinion. But times and circumstances were changed since we walked together on the terrace of Cairo, and mutually deplored the death of young Sulkowski. Had Sulkowski lived, Napoleon's favourable intentions with respect to Poland might perhaps have been confirmed. A fact which explains to me the coolness, I may almost say the indifference, of Bonaparte, to the resurrection of Poland, is, that the commencement of the consulate was the period at which that measure particularly occupied his attention. How often did he converse on the subject with me and other persons, who may yet recollect his sentiments ! It was the topic on which he most loved to converse, and on which he spoke with feeling and enthusiasm. In the *Moniteur* of the period here alluded to, I could point out more than one article without signature, or official character, which Napoleon dictated to me, and the insertion of which in that journal, considering the energy of certain expressions, sufficiently proves that they could have emanated from none but Bonaparte. It was usually in the evening that he dictated to me these articles. Then, when the affairs of the day were over, he would launch into the future, and give free scope to his vast projects. Some of these articles were characterized by so little moderation, that the first consul would very often destroy them in the morning, smiling at the violent ebullitions of the preceding night. At other times I took the liberty of not sending them to the *Moniteur* on the night on which they were dictated ; and though he might earnestly wish their insertion, I adduced reasons, good or bad, to account for the delay. He would then read over the article in question, and approve of my conduct ; but he would sometimes add, "It is nevertheless true, that with an independent kingdom of Poland, and a hundred and fifty thousand disposable troops in the east of France, I should always be master of Russia, Prussia, and Austria."—"General," I would reply, "I am entirely of your opinion ; but wherefore awaken the suspicions of the interested parties ? Leave all to time and circumstances."

The reader may have to learn, and not, perhaps, without some surprise, that in the protocol of the sittings of the congress of Châtillon, Napoleon put forward the spoliation of Poland by the three principal powers allied against him, as a claim to a more advantageous peace, and to territorial indemnities for France. In policy, he was right, but the report of foreign cannon was already loud enough to drown the best of arguments.

After the ill-timed and useless union of the Hanse Towns to France, I returned to Hamburg in the spring of 1811, to convey my family to France. I then had some conversation with Davoust. On one occasion, I said to him, that if his hopes were realized, and my sad predictions respecting the war with Russia overthrown, I hoped to see the restoration of the kingdom of Poland. Davoust replied, that event was probable, since

he had Napoleon's promise of the viceroyalty of that kingdom, and as several of his comrades had been promised starosties. Davoust made no secret of this, and it was generally known throughout Hamburg and the north of Germany. But notwithstanding what Davoust said respecting Napoleon's intentions, I considered that these promises had been made as conditional rather than positive.

On Napoleon's arrival in Poland, the diet of Warsaw assured, as there seemed reason to be, of the emperor's sentiments, declared the kingdom free and independent. The different treaties of dismemberment were pronounced to be null; and certainly the diet had a right so to act: for it calculated upon his support. But the address of the diet to Napoleon, in which these principles were declared, was ill received. His answer was full of doubt and indecision, the motive of which could not be blamed. To secure the alliance of Austria against Russia, he had just guaranteed to his father-in-law the integrity of his dominions. Napoleon, therefore, declared that he could take no part in any movement, or resolution, which might disturb Austria in the possession of the Polish provinces, forming a part of her empire. To act otherwise, he said, would be to separate himself from his alliance with Austria, and to throw her into the arms of Russia. But with regard to the Polish-Russian provinces, Napoleon declared he would see what he could do, should Providence favour the good cause. These vague and obscure expressions did not define what he intended to do for the Poles, in the event of success crowning his vast enterprises. They excited the distrust of the Poles, and had no other result. On this subject, however, one observation occurs, which is of some force, as an apology for Napoleon. Poland was successively divided between three powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, with each of which Napoleon had been at war, but never with all three at once. He had, therefore, never been able to take advantage of his victories to re-establish Poland, without injuring the interests of neutral powers, or of his allies. Hence it may be concluded, not only that he never had the positive will, which would have triumphed over all obstacles, but also that there never was a possibility of realizing those dreams and projects of revenge in which he had indulged on the banks of the Nile, as it were, to console the departed spirit of Sulkowski.

Bonaparte's character presents many unaccountable incongruities. Although the most positive man that perhaps ever existed, yet there never was one who more readily yielded to the charm of illusion. In many circumstances, the wish and the reality were to him one and the same thing. He never indulged in greater illusions than at the beginning of the campaign of Moscow. Even before the approach of the disasters, which accompanied the most fatal retreat recorded in history, all sensible persons concurred in the opinion that the emperor ought to

have passed the winter of 1812-13 in Poland, and have resumed his vast enterprises in the spring. But his natural impatience impelled him forward as it were unconsciously; and he seemed to be under the influence of an invisible demon, stronger than even his own strong will. This demon was ambition. He who knew so well the value of time, never sufficiently understood its power, and how much is sometimes gained by delay. Yet Cæsar's Commentaries, which were his favourite study, ought to have shown him that Cæsar did not conquer Gaul in one campaign. Another illusion by which Napoleon was misled during the campaign of Moscow, and perhaps past experience rendered it very excusable, was the belief that the Emperor Alexander would propose peace, when he saw him at the head of his army on the Russian territory. The prolonged stay of Bonaparte at Moscow, can indeed be accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that he expected the Russian cabinet would change its opinion, and consent to treat for peace. However, whatever might have been the reason, after his long and useless stay in Moscow, Napoleon left that city with the design of taking up his winter-quarters in Poland; but Fate now frowned on Napoleon, and in that dreadful retreat, the elements seemed leagued with the Russians to destroy the most formidable army ever commanded by one chief. To find a catastrophe in history comparable to that of the Beresina, we must go back to the destruction of the legions of Varus.

Notwithstanding the general dismay which prevailed in Paris, that capital continued tranquil, when, by a singular chance, on the very day on which Napoleon evacuated the burning city of Moscow, Mallet attempted his extraordinary enterprise. This general, who had always professed republican principles, and was a man of bold, decided character, after having been imprisoned for some time, obtained the permission of government to live in Paris in an hospital-house, situated near the *Barrière du Trône*. Of Mallet's conspiracy it is not necessary to say much, after the excellent account given of it in the *Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo*.* Mallet's plan was to make it be believed that Bonaparte had been killed at Moscow, and that a new government was established under the authority of the senate. But what could Mallet do? Absolutely nothing; and had his government continued three days, he would have experienced a more favourable chance than that which he ought reasonably to have expected. He asserted that the emperor was dead; but an *estafette* from Russia would reveal the truth, resuscitate Napoleon, and overwhelm with confusion Mallet and his proclamations. His enterprise was that of a madman. The French were too weary of troubles to throw themselves into the

* For the account of Mallet's extraordinary conspiracy here alluded to by M. de Bourrienne, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter.

—*Editor.*

arms of Mallet or his associate Lahorie, who had figured so disgracefully on the trial of Moreau. Yet, in spite of the evident impossibility of success, it must be confessed that considerable ingenuity and address marked the commencement of this silly conspiracy. On the 22d of October Mallet escaped from the hospital-house and went to Colonel Soulier, who commanded the tenth cohort of the national guard, whose barracks were situated exactly behind the hospital-house. So far all went well. Mallet was loaded with a parcel of forged orders, which he had himself prepared. He introduced himself to Soulier, under the name of General La Motte, and said that he came from General Mallet.

Colonel Soulier, on hearing of the emperor's death, was affected to tears. He immediately ordered the adjutant to assemble the cohort, and obey the orders of General La Motte, to whom he expressed his regret for being himself too ill to leave his bed. It was then two o'clock in the morning, and the forged documents respecting the emperor's death, and the new form of government, were read to the troops by lamp-light. Mallet then hastily set off, with twelve hundred men, to La Force, and liberated the Sieurs Guidal and Lahorie, who were confined there. Mallet informed them of the emperor's death, and of the change of government: gave them some orders, in obedience to which the minister and prefect of police were arrested in their hotel.

I was then at Courbevoie, and I went to Paris on that very morning to breakfast, as I frequently did, with the minister of the police. My surprise may be imagined when I learned from the porter that the Duke de Rovigo had been arrested, and carried to the prison of La Force. I went into the house, and was informed, to my great astonishment, that the ephemeral minister was being measured for his official suit, an act which so completely denoted the character of the conspirator, that it gave me an insight into the business.

Mallet repaired to General Hulin, who had the command of Paris. He informed him that he had been directed by the minister of the police to arrest him, and seal his papers. Hulin asked to see the order, and then entered his cabinet, where Mallet followed him, and just as Hulin was turning round to speak to him, he fired a pistol in his face. Hulin fell: the ball entered his cheek, but the wound was not mortal. The most singular circumstances connected with the whole affair is, that the captain whom Mallet had directed to follow him, and who accompanied him to Hulin's, saw nothing extraordinary in all this. Mallet next proceeded, very composedly, to Adjutant-general Doucet's. It happened that one of the inspectors of the police was there. He recognised General Mallet as being a man under his supervision. He told him that he had no right to quit the hospital-house without leave, and ordered him to be arrested

Mallet, seeing that all was over, was in the act of drawing a pistol from his pocket, but being observed, he was seized and disarmed. Thus terminated this extraordinary conspiracy, of which fourteen lives paid the forfeit; but with the exception of Mallet, Guidal, and Lahorie, all the others concerned in it were either machines or dupes.

This affair produced but little effect in Paris; for the enterprise, and its result, were made known simultaneously. But it was thought droll enough that the minister and prefect of police should be imprisoned by the men, who, only the day before, were their prisoners. Next day I went to see Savary, who had not yet recovered from the stupefaction caused by his extraordinary adventure. He was aware that his imprisonment, though it lasted only half an hour, was a subject of merriment to the Parisians.*

The emperor, as I have already mentioned, left Moscow on the day when Mallet made his bold attempt, that is to say, the 19th of October. He was at Smolensko when he heard the news. Rapp, who had been wounded before the entrance into Moscow, but who was sufficiently recovered to return home, was with Napoleon when the latter received the despatches containing an account of what had happened in Paris. He informed me that Napoleon was much agitated on perusing them, and that he launched into abuse of the inefficiency of the police. Rapp added, that he did not confine himself to complaints against the agents of his authority. "Is then my power so insecure," said he, "that it may be put in peril by a single individual, and a prisoner! It would appear that my crown is not fixed very firmly on my head, if in my own capital, the bold stroke of three adventurers can shake it. Rapp, misfortune never comes alone; this is the complement of what is passing here. I cannot be every where; but I must go back to Paris; my presence there is indispensable to reanimate public opinion. I must have men and money. Great successes and great victories will repair all. I must set off." Such were the motives which induced the emperor to leave his army. It is not without indignation that I have heard his precipitate departure attributed to cowardice and fear. He was a stranger to such feelings, and was never more happy than on the field of battle. I can readily conceive that he was much alarmed on hearing of Mallet's enterprise. The remarks which he made to Rapp

* Savary's arrest was a rich subject for the wits of Paris. "I will quote on this occasion," says Mademoiselle Avrillion, "a *bon-mot* that was repeated from one end of the city to the other: as every one knows, it was in the middle of the night that the Duke de Rovigo was seized: the duchess, terrified by the noise she heard, rushed out of her bedroom *en chemise*, which made our punsters say that the person who had shown herself best, in the affair of Mallet, was the Duchess de Rovigo." (*La personne qui s'était le mieux montrée, dans l'affaire de Mallet, était la Duchesse de Rovigo.*)—Editor.

were those which he knew would be made by the public; and he well knew that the affair was calculated to banish those illusions of power and stability with which he endeavoured to surround his government.

On leaving Moscow, Napoleon consigned the wrecks of his army to the care of his most distinguished generals; to Murat, who had so ably commanded the cavalry, but who abandoned the army to return to Naples; and to Ney, the hero rather than the Prince of the Moskowa, whose name will be immortal in the annals of glory, as his death will be eternal in the annals of party revenge. Amidst the general disorder, Eugène, more than any other chief, maintained a sort of discipline among the Italians; and it was remarked, that the troops of the south engaged in the fatal campaign of Moscow, had endured the rigour of the cold better than those troops who were natives of less genial climates.*

Napoleon's return from Moscow was not like his returns from the campaigns of Vienna and Tilsit, when he came back crowned with laurels, and bringing peace as the reward of his triumphs. It was remarked that Napoleon's first great disaster followed the first enterprise he undertook after his marriage with Maria Louisa. This tended to confirm the popular belief, that the presence of Josephine was favourable to his fortune; and superstitious, as he sometimes was, I will not venture to affirm that he himself did not adopt this idea. He now threw off even the semblance of legality in the measures of his government: he assumed arbitrary power, under the impression that the critical circumstances in which he was placed would excuse every thing. But, however inexplicable were the means to which the emperor resorted to procure resources, it is but just to acknowledge that they were the consequence of his system of government, and that he evinced inconceivable activity in repairing his losses, so as to place himself in a situation to resist his enemies, and restore the triumph of the French standard.

But in spite of all Napoleon's endeavours, the disasters of the campaign of Russia were daily more and more sensibly felt. The King of Prussia had played a part which was an acknowledgment of his weakness in joining France, instead of openly declaring himself for the cause of Russia, which was also his. Then took place the defection of General Yorck, who commanded the Prussian contingent to Napoleon's army. The King of Prussia, though, no doubt, secretly satisfied with the conduct of General Yorck, had him tried and condemned; but shortly

* On one occasion during his flight, Napoleon owed his preservation from the Cossacks to a small body of Neapolitan cavalry that had contrived to keep itself mounted and in perfect order. The horses as well as the men from the southern extremity of Italy, from the banks of the Garigliano, the Volturno, and the Amato, resisted the inclemencies of the Russian winter much better than the French.—*Editor.*

after, that sovereign commanded in person the troops which had turned against ours. The defection of the Prussians produced a very ill effect, and it was easy to perceive, that other defections would follow. Napoleon, foreseeing the fatal chances which this event was likely to draw upon him, assembled a privy council, composed of the ministers and some of the grand officers of his household. MM. de Talleyrand and Cambacérès, and the president of the senate were present. Napoleon asked whether, in the complicated difficulties of our situation, it would be more advisable to negotiate for peace or to prepare for a new war. Cambacérès and Talleyrand gave their opinion in favour of peace, which, however, Napoleon would not hear of after a defeat; but the Duke de Feltre, knowing how to touch the susceptible chord in the mind of Bonaparte, said that he would consider the emperor dishonoured, if he consented to the abandonment of the smallest village which had been united to the empire by a *senatus consultum*. This opinion was adopted, and the war continued.

On Napoleon's return to Paris, the pope, who was still at Fontainebleau, determined to accede to an arrangement, and to sign an act, which the emperor conceived would terminate the differences between them. But being influenced by some of the cardinals, who had previously incurred the emperor's displeasure, Pius VII. disavowed the new concordate which he had been weak enough to grant; and the emperor, who then had more important affairs on his hands, dismissed the holy father, and published the act to which he had assented. Bonaparte had no leisure to pay attention to the new difficulties started by Pius VII.; his thoughts were wholly directed to the other side of the Rhine. He was unfortunate, and the powers with whom he was most intimately allied separated from him, as he might have expected, and Austria was not the last to imitate the example set by Prussia. In these difficult circumstances, the emperor, who, for some time past, had observed the talent and address of the Count Louis de Narbonne, sent him to Vienna, to supersede M. Otto; but the pacific propositions of M. de Narbonne were not listened to. Austria would not let slip the fair opportunity of taking revenge without endangering herself.

Napoleon now saw clearly, that since Austria had abandoned him, and refused her contingent, he should soon have all Europe arrayed against him. But this did not intimidate him.

Some of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine still remained faithful to him; and his preparations being completed, he proposed to resume in person the command of the army, which had been so miraculously reproduced. But before his departure, Napoleon, alarmed at the recollection of Mallet's attempt, and anxious to guard against any similar occurrence, during his absence, did not, as on former occasions, consign the reins of the national government to a council of ministers, pre-

sided over by the arch-chancellor. He made the Empress Maria Louisa regent, and appointed a council of regency to assist her.

MALLET'S CONSPIRACY.

"General Mallet was a gentleman of Franche-Comté, descended from an ancient family. Before the revolution, he had served in the musqueteers of the king's household. The part he took in the revolution was sincere, and he professed its principles with great fervour. He was from heart and soul a republican; and he had a head for conspiracies similar to those of which Greek and Roman history has transmitted to us the portraits.

"He rose to the rank of general during the war of the revolution; and long before the emperor ascended the throne, he had obtained a command in the interior. His mind was continually occupied with ideas of government, but he was always faithful to his political principles. It would be too long to relate here the details of a project, nearly similar to the one in question, which he wished to carry into execution while the emperor was in Prussia in 1807. His scheme was then called insane; but, nevertheless, the minister for the police thought it his duty to arrest him. After a long confinement in one of the gaols, he was transferred to what is in Paris called a *Maison de Santé*. In that kind of lock-up house, or prison-hospital, I found him on my appointment to the ministry, and in it I left him. The house is the last on the left in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, near the barrier of the throne.

"Mallet had long been the comrade of Lahorie in the army of the Rhine, and learned that he was at La Force through other prisoners who had been removed to the same *Maison de Santé* in which he was placed. He also knew that Guidal was in La Force: with that general he had been acquainted in the time of the Directory, having met him at the house of the Director Barras, who employed him on particular services. But before proceeding further with Mallet, I ought to tell by what fatality these two men were still in La Force, from which they ought to have been removed more than a fortnight before, in pursuance of orders which I had given for that purpose.

"Guidal had been arrested at Marseilles for an affair of jacobinism, and brought to Paris for examination. This was done in consequence of the representations of the magistracy of the department of the Var, where tranquillity had been so far menaced that the prefect found it necessary to resort to extraordinary measures. While Guidal was in Paris, inquiries into another affair which occurred at Marseilles led to the discovery of a spy system, which had been established by Frenchmen at a former period on the coast of Provence, for the benefit of the English admiral who cruised before Toulon. Guidal was accused of having visited the English fleet, and of having sent his son on board of it. This espionage was carried on for a number of years, without any thing occurring to excite a suspicion. In consequence of what transpired on the

the persons arrested on this charge, application was made for the reconveyance of Guidal to Marseilles, in order to his being tried there; and a fortnight had elapsed since I made the necessary arrangements with the gendarmerie for his removal. The execution of my order was delayed; and consequently Guidal was still in the prison of La Force on the 23d of October.

"It was the same with respect to Lahorie. Since Moreau's trial, he had concealed himself in France. The emperor had frequently repeated the order for his departure, but M. Fouché allowed him to remain in Paris. Lahorie was a native of Brittany, and easily found protectors. The emperor ordered me to take measures to send him off to America, and as a preliminary step to arrest him. He was arrested accordingly. I lost no time in preparing for his departure; and he was to have been embarked at Nantz on board a vessel bound for the United States. More than a fortnight before, I had signed the papers necessary to authorize his removal to that port; but he remained in La Force, like Guidal, and in consequence of the same negligence.

"Mallet, whose mind was always occupied with his scheme for changing the government, thought he could not have a better opportunity for trying it than the present. The remote situation of the emperor and the armies seemed to smooth the difficulties which environed an enterprise so hazardous; and the success of which so materially depended on a supposition that could not be soon enough contradicted to destroy the credulity which was the leading principle of his plan.

"After meditating on the various means of which he might avail himself for the execution of his project, he fixed on the following: He supposed the emperor killed under the walls of Moscow on the 8th of October; he could not take any other day without incurring the risk of being contradicted by the arrival of the regular courier. The emperor being dead, he concluded that the senate ought to be invested with the supreme authority; and he therefore resolved to address himself in the name of that body to the nation and the army. In a proclamation to the soldiers, he deplored the death of the emperor; in another, after announcing the abolition of the imperial system and the restoration of the republic, he indicated the manner in which the government was to be reconstructed, described the branches into which public authority was to be divided, and named the directors. Attached to the different documents, there appeared the signatures of several senators whose names he recollected, but with whom he had ceased to have any intercourse for a great number of years. These signatures were all written by Mallet; and he drew up a decree in the name of the senate, and signed by the same senators, appointing himself governor of Paris, and commander of the troops of the first military division. He also drew up other decrees in the same form, which purported to promote to higher ranks all the military officers he intended to make instruments in the execution of his enterprise.

"General Hulin had at this time the command of Paris, and Adjutant-commandant Doucet was the chief of his staff. Mallet, by one of his decrees, continued Doucet as chief of the staff, raised him to

the rank of brigadier-general, and gave him an order for one hundred thousand francs on the public treasury, payable at sight.

"Behind Mallet's *Maison de Santé* were the barracks, which the 10th cohort of the national guard occupied, and which also served as a depot for the 32d regiment of the line. This 10th cohort was commanded by Colonel Soulier, one of the brave old officers of the army of Italy, but unfortunately as simple as he was brave. He had arrived but a few days before from Spain, and was appointed to the command of the 10th cohort.

"Mallet was married, and his wife lived at a considerable distance from Paris. She came frequently to town to visit him, but never saw any reason to suspect that the planning of any extraordinary enterprise occupied his mind.

"A Spanish priest, who was for some time confined in the same house as Mallet, having been set at liberty, took an apartment for himself in the *Place-Royale*; and there remained with Mallet an abbé, named Lafond, who had been long under arrest on some charge connected with ecclesiastical affairs. Being in company with this abbé all day long, he found it necessary to confide in him. Two young men of Lafond's acquaintance were then in Paris, and he kept up intimate communications with them, but did not disclose the plan. One, a young corporal of the Paris guard, was a native of the same part of the country as the abbé; the other, a young Vendean, was studying law at Paris. The latter being of an intriguing character, became a favourite with Mallet; who, on the day before that which he selected for the execution of his project, directed him to go to the *Palais-Royal*, and purchase a tri-coloured scarf. At the same time he gave him a letter to his wife, in which he directed her to put his uniforms and his arms in his portmanteau, and also the uniform for an *aide-de-camp*, which had been left with her (probably by design), and to deliver the portmanteau and the key to the bearer.

"In obedience to Mallet's orders, the young Vendean carried the portmanteau to the lodgings of the Spanish priest in the *Place-Royale*. Next day, the 22d, Mallet invited the corporal and the student to dine with him, and the Abbé Lafond; and when the party broke up, he told the two young men to go to the Spanish priest's, and wait for him there.

"At ten at night, after the doors were locked, Mallet and Lafond let themselves out by the window of their apartment, which was on the ground-floor, and adjacent to the garden. The wall at the end of the garden was not very high, and when they got over it they were in the street. Having accomplished this without creating the least alarm, they proceeded on foot to the Spanish priest's lodgings in the *Place-Royale*. Mallet sent for punch; and when he saw that the liquor began to operate on the heads of the young men, he spoke to them of his plan as a thing long ago agreed upon between him and the senate, but which was only to be executed in the case of the emperor's death, and of that event he had but just been informed. In this way he imposed upon his two dupes, who knew him to be dissatisfied with the imperial government, but who never before had heard him hint at any thing of the kind he then proposed.

"Mallet showed them the instructions which he said had been sent to him by the committee of the government established at the *Luxem-*

bourg : his appointment as governor of Paris ; a credit granted him to a considerable amount on the treasury ; and, finally, an order for the immediate installation of new authorities in the place of those acting under the imperial government. All these documents were of his own fabrication. Without giving his auditors time for reflection, he opened his portmanteau, dressed himself in the uniform of a general-officer, made the young corporal put on the aide-de-camp's uniform, and decked out the young Vendean in the tri-coloured scarf.

"At one o'clock in the morning Mallet left the Spanish priest's apartment, accompanied by only one of the three persons I have already named, and proceeded to Popincourt-barracks, where the 10th cohort was quartered. Strangers were not admitted into the barracks of Paris during night ; Mallet therefore stated that he had particular business with the commanding officer. He was conducted to the unfortunate Soulier, who was then living out of his quarters : he was sick, and was not able to receive Mallet.

"Mallet depended for the success of his enterprise entirely upon the trick he had to play here, and he certainly performed it dexterously. Without giving his name, he entered Soulier's bedroom : the colonel, after apologizing for not getting up, asked the general what commands he had for him. Mallet said, ' I see you are not informed of what has happened ; we have had the misfortune to lose the emperor.' On hearing this, Soulier burst into tears ; and Mallet, who affected to participate in his grief, proceeded to say, ' The government is changed, and here is the order which General Mallet has this moment given me to deliver to you.

"Soulier read the paper. It purported to be an order signed by General Mallet, requiring the colonel to muster the cohort under arms, to notify the events which had taken place, and to follow punctually whatever directions might be given by General Lamotte, who was the bearer of the order, and who had received instructions from the committee of the senate invested with the government. Thus Mallet passed himself off to Soulier as General Lamotte. Soulier saluted the general, sent for the adjutant of his cohort, ordered him to call out the troops, and in the presence of the pretended General Lamotte, expressed his regret at not being able to accompany that officer to the barracks.

"Mallet then proceeded in the character of Lamotte to the square of the barracks, where the troops were drawn up. He caused the account of the emperor's death, and the proclamations of the senate to the nation and the army, announcing the change of the government, to be read to the cohort by the light of torches. During all this scene it never struck any individual to question the truth of the facts ; but certainly nothing could be more clear than the terms in which Mallet explained every thing.

"The pretended General Lamotte ordered out the cohort, which was one thousand two hundred strong, without requiring the ten thousand reserve ball-cartridges which, according to the practice of the garrison of Paris, were kept in the colonel's quarters, or making the wooden flints be changed which the soldiers put in their muskets for exercise.

"Mallet marched off at the head of the cohort, leaving only a single company in the barracks to accompany Soulier to the Hotel-de-Ville,

where the colonel was ordered to wait for him, and to make arrangements for the reception of the government committee. He did not neglect to deliver to the colonel the commission by which he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, accompanied by an order on the treasury for one hundred thousand francs.

"The 23d of October fell upon a Friday, which was parade-day for the garrison of Paris. Since the emperor's absence the parade had always taken place every day in the Place Vendôme. It was necessary for the troops of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to leave their quarters early, in order to reach the Place Vendôme in time. The appearance of the 10th cohort marching on the Friday morning with arms and baggage, therefore, excited no surprise.

"Mallet marched the cohort through the Rue Saint-Antoine to the gate of La Force. He ordered it to be opened, and made Guidal and Lahorie be brought to him. He then ordered the keeper to shut the gate, and to allow no other person to come out. Having embraced Lahorie and Guidal, he informed them of the emperor's death, and what had taken place in consequence of that event. He then said, 'There is no time to be lost. Here are your instructions; take this corps, and execute them. I need only half a company to go with me to take possession of the government of Paris, where I shall expect to hear from you. We shall meet afterwards at the Hotel-de-Ville.'

"Lahorie took the story of the emperor's death for granted; he had been in the confidence of General Moreau, and knew all his projects; he also remembered the 18th Brumaire, in which he had acted a part. These ideas recurred to his mind, and aided by the appearance of Mallet in his embroidered uniform, and followed by a regular corps, left no room for suspicion. He read the orders, which seemed to come in an official form to him, and took the command of the cohort, leaving only fifty men with Mallet, who hastened to take possession of the prefecture of the police. Mallet found M. Pasquier, who was in the habit of rising early, already at his post. He arrested him, and installed the Vendean student and the Abbé Lafond in his office. Notwithstanding the situation in which the prefect of the police was placed, he found means to send one of his clerks to me to inform me of what was going on. This clerk, however, when he came to my hotel, merely insisted upon seeing me immediately, and said not a word more to any one. As he was known to the porter of the hotel, he might, as a preliminary step, have caused the gate to be shut. This he did not do; and he was informed of the order I had left, when I went to bed at five in the morning, that I was not to be called except for business of importance. As he came on foot, he was not long at my hotel before General Lahorie, who appeared to have followed close at his heels, he entered like a shot, as I have already related.

"Lahorie despatched General Guidal, who had accompanied him, to arrest the minister of war; but as the sergeant, who was to have assassinated me, had not kept his word, he ran after Guidal, whom he overtook in the Rue de Saints-Pères, and brought him back to my hotel with his detachment. It was solely owing to this incident that the war-minister missed having an adventure similar to mine.

"On parting with Lahorie at the gate of La Force, Mallet sent by soldiers of the 10th cohort packets to the commanding officers of two regiments of the Parisian paid-guard. These packets contained the same proclamations which had been read to the cohort when he called

it out; and besides, minute instructions as to the duty required of the two regiments.

"He ordered one regiment to close all the barriers of Paris, and to allow no person to pass through them. This was done; so that in all the neighbouring towns from which assistance, in case of need, might have been obtained, nothing was known of the transactions in Paris. He sent the other regiments to occupy the bank, the treasury, and different ministerial offices. At the treasury some resistance was made. The minister of that department was on the spot, and he employed the guard of his household in maintaining his authority. But in the whole of the two regiments of the Paris-guard not a single objection was started to the execution of Mallet's orders.

"While Mallet was thus acting through the agency of others on different points, he proceeded himself along the Rue Saint-Honoré with the party of troops he had reserved for himself. He turned the corner of the street which leads to the Place Vendôme. Here he detached from his troop an officer with twenty-five men, whom he ordered to form in order of battle in front of the office of the staff, which was the house in the angle of the Place Vendôme on the left, and to allow no person to come out.

"He gave the officer a packet to be delivered to Adjutant-general Doucet. The packet contained the documents already described; namely, the proclamation announcing the death of the emperor, the decree of the senate, Mallet's appointment to the office of governor of Paris, and a brigadier-general's commission, with an order for one hundred thousand francs to Doucet. To this packet were added instructions, in the form of a confidential letter, in which Mallet expressed great satisfaction at the connexion which their relative duties in the public service would now establish between them. He directed Doucet to transmit certain orders to the troops at Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain, and Versailles, and also to those in Paris: of the last he only accepted the paid-guard, which he had already employed, and the 10th cohort, to which he had assigned the task of arresting the prefect, and the minister of the police, and also General Hulin. He added, that being aware of the intimate relation subsisting between him and General Hulin, he wished to relieve him from the disagreeable duty of arresting him, and would take that business on himself. At the same time, he warned Doucet to take care that no opposition was made to the arrest; and desired him to detain in front of his office, until further orders, the picket commanded by the officer who was the bearer of the packet.

"Adjutant-general Doucet was in bed when the officer arrived. As the officer refused to communicate with any third person, he was introduced into the bedroom of the adjutant-general, who, suddenly roused from his slumbers, was quite at a loss what to think of the despatch presented to him. He read the documents several times, and asked the officer of the 10th cohort who brought them what had occurred in his barracks. The young man related all that he knew: he had seen his corps called out under arms; had followed Mallet to La Force; had seen Lahorie and Guidal brought out; and had continued on with the rest of the cohort to the Place Vendôme, whence Mallet proceeded to General Hulin, with whom he then was; 'for,' added the officer, 'I can see our detachment in front of General Hulin's quarters.' And, in fact, it was easy to see the party from the window of M. Doucet's room.

"It was impossible for Doucet to doubt the existence of an enterprise, the details of which Mallet had communicated to him in his instructions. The project, it was true, might be called absurd; but it was acted upon. Of this he could not fail to be assured, both by what he saw, and by what the young officer, who was himself one of the agents, told him: nevertheless, he not only did not stir a step to counteract what was going on, but he completely lost his self-possession, and became alarmed about his responsibility. Mallet had ordered him to arrest M. Laborde, whose activity he doubtless dreaded. Doucet sent for M. Laborde, who had apartments in the same hotel. They were reading the papers together when Mallet, returning from General Hulin's quarters, entered the room in which they were. He asked Doucet why Laborde was not under arrest, and ordered him to surrender himself. Laborde resisted; and some discussion arose, which terminated by his leaving the room, saying, 'In order to place myself under arrest, I must go hence; for this is not my apartment.' Going down stairs, he observed the inspector-general of the police, who had come to the office of the garrison-staff in quest of information. The picket of the 10th cohort stationed at the door, in pursuance of the orders which had been given by Mallet, refused him admittance; but Laborde called from the stairs to let him pass. The soldiers, who knew Laborde's person, and had long been accustomed to obey him, readily complied. Laborde told the inspector-general what was going on, and conducted him to Doucet's apartment, where Mallet still was.

"In a moment the scene changed. Mallet could no longer maintain his deception in the presence of the inspector, who, addressing him in a loud tone, said, 'Monsieur Mallet, you had no authority to leave the house where you were detained, without my permission:' then turning to Adjutant-general Doucet, he added, 'There is something under all this: arrest him in the first place, while I go to the ministry, and get an explanation of the business.' Mallet stood with his back against the fireplace of the room. Finding that all was lost, he grasped a pistol which he had in his coat-pocket. The other three saw the motion he made reflected in the opposite glass, and they immediately seized and disarmed him.

"What had happened at General Hulin's, whither Mallet had been before he came to Doucet, was learned after his arrest.

"Mallet, who was accompanied by a captain of the 10th cohort, asked to speak to General Hulin in private.

"The general came out of his official cabinet to receive him. Mallet said he had a disagreeable commission to execute, as he was ordered by the minister of the police to arrest him, and put the seals on his papers. General Hulin demanded to see the order; upon which Mallet said, 'Let us go into your cabinet, and I will show it you.' Hulin went first; Mallet, accompanied by the captain of the cohort, followed, with his hand on a pistol which was in his pocket. At the moment Hulin turned round to see the order, Mallet fired the pistol in his face, and he instantly fell. The general was not killed; but the ball, which entered by his cheek, remained in his head, and could not be extracted. Mallet then turned round, and proceeded to Adjutant-general Doucet's, without the captain, who witnessed this transaction, and had become an accomplice in it, not seeming to think it any way extraordinary."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (Editor.)

NOTES ON THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN, AND THE AFFAIRS OF POLAND.

We will here avail ourselves of a masterly sketch of the great campaign of 1812, which has recently been written by a military gentleman in this country, and which is alike admirable for its brevity and its correctness. We shall afterwards avail ourselves of some other equally valuable and authentic sources of information respecting this frightful tragedy, and to all which we shall add a few notes regarding Napoleon's treatment of the Poles.

"Before Napoleon set off from Paris for the Russian expedition, he directed Maret, Duke of Bassano, to write a letter to Lord Castlereagh proposing negotiations for peace, on the basis of *uti possidetis*. He was willing this time to let Sicily remain under Ferdinand, and Portugal under the House of Braganza, but he insisted on Spain being secured to his brother Joseph. It must be observed that Lord Wellington had just taken possession of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, and was advancing into Spain towards Madrid, which he shortly after entered upon gaining the battle of Salamanca. The English minister immediately replied, that England's engagements with the Spanish Cortes, acting in the name of King Ferdinand VII., rendered the acknowledgment of Joseph impossible.

"The Russian minister, Prince Kourakin, still remained at Paris. Early in May he presented an official note to the Duke of Bassano, stating that the matters in dispute between the two empires might easily be made the subject of amicable negotiations, provided the French troops should evacuate Pomerania and the duchy of Warsaw, where they could be for no other purpose than that of threatening the frontiers of Russia. Napoleon pretended to be exceedingly angry at this demand, which he said was insolent, adding that he was not used to be addressed in such a style, and to have his movements dictated by a foreign sovereign; and he sent Prince Kourakin his passports. On the 4th of May he himself set off with his empress for Dresden, where he had invited the kings of his own creation, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Westphalia, and his other tributaries, to meet him. The Emperor of Austria also repaired to Dresden with his empress. The King of Prussia came too, as he had just signed a treaty with Napoleon, by which he placed twenty thousand men at his disposal in the approaching campaign. Austria agreed to furnish thirty thousand men to act against Russian Poland. Napoleon sent the Count de Narbonne to Wilna, where the Emperor Alexander then was, to invite him to come to Dres-

den, but Alexander declined. After brilliant festivals, Napoleon quitted Dresden for Thorn, where he arrived on the 2d of June. His immense army was assembled chiefly between the Vistula and the Niemen, which latter river formed the boundary of the Russian empire. There were two hundred and seventy thousand French, eighty thousand Germans of the Confederation of the Rhine, thirty thousand Poles under Prince Poniatowski, twenty thousand Italians under Eugène, and twenty thousand Prussians. On the 22d of June Napoleon issued a proclamation to his soldiers, declaring, 'that the second war of Poland had begun. The fate of Russia must be fulfilled. Let us cross the Niemen, and carry the war into her own territory,' &c. On the 24th and 25th of June Napoleon's army, in three large masses, crossed the Niemen, and entered Lithuania without meeting with any opposition. The Russian army, under General Barclay de Tolly, one hundred and twenty thousand strong, evacuated Wilna, and retired to the banks of the Dwina. Another Russian army, eighty thousand strong, under Prince Bagration, was stationed near the Dnieper. On the 28th of June Napoleon entered Wilna, where he remained till the 16th of July. He there received a deputation from the diet of the duchy of Warsaw, entreating him to proclaim the union and independence of Poland. Napoleon's answer was still cold and cautious: he told them that he had guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria that part of Poland which he still retained; while for the rest they must depend chiefly on their own efforts.*

"In the mean time, the French soldiers treated Lithuania as an enemy's country. The provisions ordered by Napoleon to follow his army not having arrived, and the Russians having removed all their stores, the French and German soldiers went about marauding, plundering alike the mansions of the nobility and the huts of the peasants, feeding their horses on the green corn, insulting the women, and killing those who resented such treatment.† Lithuania, a poor and thinly inhabited country, which had suffered from the bad harvest of the preceding year (1811), was utterly devastated. At the same time, disorder and demoralization spread fearfully through the enormous masses of the invaders; disease thinned their ranks; twenty-five thousand patients were crowded within Wilna in a few weeks, where there was not accommodation for one-third of the number; heavy rains rendered the roads impassable, and ten thousand horses were lost.

"After partial engagements at Mohilow and Witepsk, the Russians continued their retreat upon Smolensk, in the interior of Russia. Thither Napoleon determined to follow them. 'Forward marches alone,' he observed, 'can keep such a vast army in its present condition together; to halt or retire would be the signal of dissolution. It is an army of attack, not of defence; an army

* De Pradt, *Ambassade de Pologne*.

† Oginski and Segur.

of operation, not of position. We must advance upon Moscow, and strike a blow in order either to obtain peace, or resting quarters and supplies.* He crossed the Dnieper, and entered Russia Proper with about one hundred and eighty thousand men, leaving a body of reserve at Wilna and the corps of Macdonald on the Dwina, towards Riga. In his march through Lithuania, no less than one hundred thousand men had dropped off from his ranks, and were either dead or sick, or had been taken prisoners by the Cossacks, or were straggling and marauding about the country.

"On the 16th of August the two hostile armies met under the walls of Smolensk. But the Russians, after carrying off or destroying their provisions, and allowing time to the inhabitants to retire, evacuated the place, which their rear-guard set on fire. They continued their retreat upon Moscow, whither Napoleon followed them. The battle of Borodino, near the banks of the river Moskwa, was fought on the 7th of September. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, one hundred and twenty thousand each. After a dreadful slaughter on both sides, the Russian general sounded a retreat, and the French were left in possession of the bloody field; but they scarcely took any prisoners or guns: fifteen thousand Russians and about ten thousand Frenchmen lay dead. Next day the Russian army continued its retreat; and on the 14th of September it passed through Moscow, which most of the inhabitants had already evacuated. The French entered the city on the same day, and found it deserted, except by the convicts and some of the lowest class, who lingered behind for the sake of plunder. On the evening of this day a fire broke out in the coachmakers' street, but it was put down in the night. The next day, 15th, Napoleon took up his residence in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the Tzars. On the following night the fire burst out again in different parts of the city, and no exertions of the French could stop it: the wind spread the flames in all quarters, and on the third day Napoleon was obliged to leave the Kremlin, where he incurred imminent danger. The fire raged till the 19th, when it abated, after destroying seven thousand six hundred and eighty-two houses, about four-fifths of the town. The conflagration has been attributed to a premeditated plan of the Russians; but Count Rostopchin, the governor, has positively denied this. 'Several individuals,' he says, 'set fire to their own houses, rather than leave them in possession of the invaders, and the French soldiers seeking for plunder, or for wine and spirits in the cellars, where they got intoxicated, did the rest.'†

"The markets of Moscow used to be supplied, not from the immediate neighbourhood, but from a considerable distance in the interior, and especially from the southern districts towards

* Segur.

† *La Vérité sur l'Incendie de Moscow*, par le Comte Rostopchin, Paris, 1823.

Kaluga, where the Russian army was now posted. The French, therefore, could get no provisions, and they were obliged to live chiefly on the flesh of their horses, salted.

"Napoleon remained among the ruins of Moscow for five weeks. He had sent Lauriston to the Russian head-quarters with a letter for the Emperor Alexander, which was forwarded to Petersburg, but no answer was returned. Napoleon was evidently deceived in his calculations upon the temper of Alexander, and of the Russian people. On the 19th of October, seeing no chance of making peace, Napoleon began his retreat. The weather was fine, and moderately cold at this time. He attempted first to retire by Kaluga, where he expected to find provisions; but the stout resistance opposed to him at Malo Yaroslavetz induced him reluctantly to turn again to the road by Vareia and Viazma to Smolensk, by which he had advanced. He was closely followed by the Russian army, but was more especially harassed by swarms of Cossacks under the hetman Platoff. His rear divisions had sharp engagements at Viazma and at the passage of the Wop.* His army dwindled away apace, through fatigue, privations, and the constant attacks of the Cossacks. It had left Moscow one hundred and twenty thousand strong, but was now reduced to one-half that number of fighting men: the rest formed a confused and disorderly mass in the rear, with an immense train of baggage and artillery. In this condition they were overtaken on the 6th of November by the Russian winter, which that year set in earlier than usual. The emaciated frames of soldiers and horses could not resist this fresh enemy, and they dropped by thousands on the road, where they were soon buried under the snow. The bitter frosty nights killed thousands more; but the winter only completed the destruction of the army, which had begun during the advance in the summer."

At last the French reached Smolensk, where they found their stores, which had come up so far. Many had not tasted a piece of bread or biscuit since they had advanced through that town three months before. On the 14th of November Napoleon left Smolensk with about forty thousand men able to carry arms; his rear divisions, so harassed by repeated attacks from the Russians, that when he arrived at Orsa, in Lithuania, he had only twelve thousand men with arms in their hands, and of forty thousand horses there were scarcely three thousand left. In this plight he reached the banks of the Berezina, where he was joined by a corps of reserve of nearly fifty thousand men, under Victor and Oudinot. The passage of this river on the 26th and 27th of November cost him about one-half of his army thus reinforced. It was on the 3d of December that Napoleon arrived at Malodeczno, whence he issued the famous 29th bulletin, which came like a clap of thunder to awaken Europe. This time he told

* Gli Italiani in Russia.

the whole truth in all its sternness: except the guards, indeed, he had no longer an army. At Smorgoni, where he arrived on the 5th of December, he took leave of his generals, left the command of the army, such as it was, to Murat, and set off in a sledge with Caulaincourt on his return to Paris. He arrived at Warsaw on the 10th, where he had that curious conversation with De Pradt, which the latter has so humorously related. Continuing his route, he passed through Dresden on the 14th, and arrived at Paris on the 18th of December, at night. The remains of his unfortunate army were collected by Murat on the line of the Vistula. In General Berthier's report, dated 16th of December, a dismal picture is given of the state of the troops after Napoleon left them: 'Plunder, insubordination, and disorganization, have reached the highest pitch.' The loss of the French and their auxiliaries in this campaign is reckoned by Boutourlin at one hundred and twenty-five thousand slain, one hundred and thirty-two thousand dead of fatigue, hunger, disease, and cold, and one hundred and ninety-three thousand prisoners, including three thousand officers and forty-eight generals. It is stated in the St. Petersburg Gazette that the bodies burnt in the spring after the thaw, in Russia Proper and Lithuania, amounted to three hundred and eight thousand, of which, of course, a considerable proportion were Russians. In the Berezina alone, and the adjoining marshes, thirty-six thousand dead bodies were said to have been found. The French left behind nine hundred pieces of cannon and twenty-five thousand waggons, cassoons, &c.*

In all the earlier stages of this fatal campaign, the plan of the Russians was very wisely one of retreat. They were, however, decidedly beaten in one or two of the great engagements they hazarded; but whether fighting in a general action, or, during their retreat, throwing off the different corps of their hot pursuers, the steadiness, the almost impenetrable phalanxes of the Russian infantry, excited universal admiration. We shall avail ourselves of information received from the Prince of Ischitella, who was then the Marquis Giuliano, and on the staff of Murat, King of Naples, whose particular favour and full confidence he enjoyed.

From the moment the French crossed the Niemen, Murat, as usual, led the van with his formidable cavalry. To defend themselves from his charges, the Russian infantry formed into squares, which the French never could break. The Russian infantry would sometimes make this stand two or three times in one day; falling back each time with coolness and precision, and without any confusion. Owing to the rapidity of Murat's advance, his heavier artillery could not keep up with him, and his lighter cannon seemed to produce hardly any impression on those masses of iron men. The Russian infantry withstood charge

* See article *Bonaparte*, in *Cyclopædia*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

after charge—and the onslaughts of Murat were unparalleled for their vigour and fierceness, and yet he could never make the slightest impression upon the squares. The utmost that Murat could do now and then was to cut off a corner or angle of those masses of resolute men; but even partial advantages like these were never obtained by the gallant King of Naples without tremendous sacrifices.

Wherever there was a redoubt to defend, the Russian infantry accomplished it heroically. Even after their defeats at Witepsk and Smolensk, they made a most determined stand on the great and bloody field of Moskwa. One redoubt there, which was only defended by nine hundred men, cost the French an enormous price. In the words of Labaume, who was on the staff of Eugène Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy, "We followed up the enemy through a wood, and, arriving at an open space, saw long columns of Russians defiling. These columns took up a position on an extensive plain on the summit of a hill about half a league distant, where, it was said, Prince Kutusoff had resolved to risk a decisive battle. On our right, we saw below us the abbey of Kolotskoï, the numerous towers of which gave it the appearance of a town. The coloured tiles, with which it was covered, reflecting the rays of the sun through the thick dust caused by our immense cavalry, served to heighten still more the gloomy and savage aspect which the whole surrounding country presented. Intending to arrest our progress here, the Russians had devastated in the most frightful manner the whole plain on which we were forced to encamp. The corn, though yet green, had been cut, the woods destroyed, and the villages burnt, in a word, we found no food for our horses, and no shelter for ourselves.

"We halted on a hill. During this time the centre of the army vigorously pursued the enemy, and obliged them to retire upon the eminence which they had intrenched. Till nearly two o'clock in the afternoon we remained inactive; when the viceroy, followed only by his staff, reconnoitred the approaches to the Russian position. He had scarcely commenced, when our dragoons, placed as sharpshooters, announced the approach of Napoleon. In a moment the name of the emperor passed from mouth to mouth, and every one awaited his arrival with the greatest impatience. He soon made his appearance, followed by his principal officers, and took his station on an eminence whence he could easily command the whole camp of the enemy. After having long and attentively regarded their position, and carefully observed all the adjacent country, he began to hum some insignificant tune. Having then conversed a moment with the viceroy, he mounted his horse, and proceeded to concert the plan of attack with the other generals.

"The viceroy now ordered the divisions of Delzons ar'

Broussier to advance: the Italian guard, which had been left in the rear, being placed in reserve. These two divisions had scarcely reached the eminence whence they could attack the Russians, when a brisk fire of musketry commenced on our right, between the sharpshooters of Gerard's division (third division, first corps) and those of the enemy. At first our troops advanced close to the ravine which separated us from the enemy, but superior numbers obliged them to retire.

"The Russians had a redoubt towards the right extremity of our army, the destructive fire of which carried consternation through the ranks. This redoubt had been constructed to strengthen their left wing, which was the weakest part of their intrenched camp. Napoleon understood this, and saw the necessity of taking that redoubt. The honour of the affair was confided to Compans's division (fourth division, first corps), and these gallant men advanced to the attack with an intrepidity which ensured the success of the enterprise. In the mean time, Prince Poniatowski manœuvred on our right with his cavalry, to turn the enemy's position; and when he was at a proper distance, Compans's division attacked the redoubt, and succeeded in carrying it after an hour's fighting. The Russians, completely routed, abandoned the neighbouring woods, and retreating in disorder towards the principal eminence, rejoined the centre of their army.

"The division of Compans, in proving itself worthy of the brilliant enterprise with which it had been intrusted, purchased that honour with considerable loss. The acquisition of this important position cost the lives of twelve hundred of our men, more than half of whom remained dead in the intrenchments which they had so gloriously carried. As Napoleon was on the following morning reviewing the 61st regiment, which had suffered most, he asked the colonel what he had done with one of his battalions? 'Sire,' replied he, '*it is in the redoubt.*'

"The possession of the redoubt did not in the least determine the success of the battle. Before the general engagement began, Napoleon wished to turn the left wing of the Russians; but foreseeing this manœuvre, they had placed the whole of the corps of Tutschkoff (the third) and the militia of Moscow in ambuscade behind the thick underwood which covered the extremity of their left; while the 2d, 4th, and 6th corps formed two lines of infantry in the rear, protected by the works which connected this grand redoubt with the wood. Our brave light troops recommenced the attack with redoubled vigour; and although the day was nearly closed, the fire on both sides continued with equal fury. At the same time, several villages on fire to the right spread around a frightful glare; which the cries of the combatants, and the flames which were vomited from a thousand brazen mouths, and which carried every where desolation and death, completed the horror of the scene. Our corps,

ranged in order of battle, received with intrepidity the fire of the enemy, and coolly closed ranks whenever a cannon-ball had knocked down any of our comrades.

"In the mean time, the night becoming darker and darker, caused as to slacken our fire without cooling our ardour; and our soldiers, uncertain of their aim, reserved their strength and ammunition for the morrow. Scarcely had we ceased firing, when the Russians, whose camp resembled an immense amphitheatre, lighted up numberless fires. The whole of that camp was one continuous blaze of light, which not only presented a grand and sublime aspect, but formed a striking contrast with our bivouac, where the men, unable to get any wood, reposed in utter darkness, with no sounds to cheer them, and listening only to the groans of the wounded and of the dying.

"Our head-quarters were established on the spot where the Italian guard was placed in reserve. Lying down in the under-wood, we slept soundly after the fatigues of the day, in spite of an impetuous wind, and a very cold rain." "The next morning (the 6th of September), at daybreak, the viceroy ordered me to complete a plan of the ground, by inspecting all our line, and approaching the enemy as nearly as possible." "In executing my orders, I advanced, and discovered that the Russian camp was pitched beyond the river Kologha, upon a narrow eminence; and that its left was very much weakened by the loss of the redoubt on the preceding evening. In front of the camp, and opposite to us, was the village of Borodino, an excessively strong position,* situated at the confluence of a little rivulet, with the Kologha. Upon this eminence were two grand redoubts about two hundred toises from each other; that on the right had fired on us the evening before; that on the left was built on the ruins of a village which they had destroyed for this purpose. The latter redoubt communicated with Borodino by three bridges constructed upon the Kologha. This village, and the rivulet which was in front, constituted the first line of the enemy's fortification.

"The Italian cavalry had crossed the rivulet of Borodino at the extremity of our left; but the village situated on an eminence, was defended by a numerous corps of Russian troops. All this ground was exposed to the fire of their grand redoubts, as well as that of several smaller masked batteries along the river. The enemy was perfectly aware that our success on

* Napoleon said in his bulletin, "The viceroy who formed our left, attacked and took the village of Borodino, which the enemy could not defend." Prince Kutusoff, on the contrary, wrote to Alexander, "The position which I have chosen in the village of Borodino, is one of the best that can be found in a flat country. It is to be wished that the French would attack us in this position." We made the assault, and the village was so well defended, that General Plausanne, and Colonel Demay of the artillery, officers of our corps, were killed in the commencement of the action. The Russians have given to this bloody day the name of the *Battle of Borodino*.—*Labaume*.

the preceding evening had enabled us to cross the Kologha on the right, and push forward the greater part of our troops to the rear of the eminence on which their principal redoubt was placed.

"We passed the rest of the day in reconnoitring the position of the Russians. General Danthouard caused the redoubts which were placed too much in the rear, to be reconstructed; and on the left some epaulments were thrown up, where cannon might be placed in battery. In fact, all was prepared for a decisive engagement, when, towards evening, the emperor sent a proclamation to the chiefs of the corps, with orders not to read it to the soldiers till the next day, should they then come to action; for although the position was both advantageous and strong, the enemy had so often declined giving battle, that it was to be feared they would again act as they had done at Witepsk and Volontina. Here, however, our rapid marches, and the distance of our reserves, had equalized the forces of the opposite parties, and the Russians were forced to come to action, if they wished to save Moscow, from which we were distant not more than twenty-six leagues. In addition to this, the fatigue of our soldiers, and the worn-out condition of our horses, seemed to promise the Russians an easy victory. We, on the other hand, were quite certain that we must either conquer or perish." "Although, exhausted with hard work, we felt the want of sleep, there were many among us so enamoured of glory, and so sure of success on the morrow, that they could not sleep. Suddenly, before daybreak, the drums beat, the officers cried to arms, the soldiers ran to their stations, and we all awaited the signal for the onslaught. The colonels placing themselves in the centre of their regiments, ordered the trumpets to sound, and every captain, surrounded by his company, read aloud the following address of Napoleon:

"Soldiers! This is the battle you have so much desired. The victory depends upon you! It is now *necessary to us*. It will give us abundance of good winter-quarters, and a prompt return to our country. Behave as at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witepsk, at Smolensk, and let the latest posterity recount with pride your conduct on this day; let them say of you, 'He was at the great battle under the walls of Moscow.'"

The positive truths contained in these short and energetic words had a great effect, and the French were most eager for the combat. Labaume continues—

"Such were the feelings of the army, when a radiant sun, bursting from the thickest fog, shone on many of us for the last time. It is reported, that at this sight Napoleon exclaimed to those around him, 'Behold the sun of Austerlitz!' The army hailed the happy presage, and was electrified by the glorious recollection.

"The grand manœuvres which the first and fifth corps, commanded by the Prince of Eckmuhl, made at the extremities of our right, clearly proved that the decisive combat was about to commence. The armies were in sight of each other, the cannoneers at their pieces, and all awaited in anxious silence the signal of attack. At length (7th September), at six o'clock precisely, the firing of a cannon from our principal battery announced that we were engaged. One hundred and twenty pieces of artillery placed on our right answered the signal. General Pernetti placed himself at the head of the division of Compans, with a battery of thirty pieces, and forcing his way through the wood, turned the intrenchments of the enemy. At half-past six General Compans was wounded, and at seven the Prince of Eckmuhl had his horse killed under him. The Duke of Elchingen likewise advanced, and protected by sixty cannon which General Fouché had placed in battery on the preceding evening, attacked the centre of the Russian army. He was supported by all the horse of Latour-Maubourg, which charged the masses of the Russians, who were formed into squares around the grand redoubt. At the same time the division of Delzons advanced upon the village of Borodino, to which the Russians had already set fire. Our men then crossed the rivulet, reached the village, and, after hard work, carried it at the point of the bayonet."

In checking an absurd advance made by the French soldiers from Borodino, General Plausanne was hit in the middle of the body by a ball. At this point of the combat, or shortly after, Kutusoff thought all was lost, but he made another desperate effort to maintain the cause of his country, and his military reputation, which last was based on the service of half a century.

"He renewed the combat, and attacked with all his forces the strong positions which had just been carried. Three hundred pieces of cannon arranged on these heights spread devastation and death among his ranks, and his disheartened soldiery perished at the feet of those ramparts which they had themselves raised, and which they regarded as the bulwark of Moscow, their venerable and sacred city.

"The 30th regiment, attacked on every side, was unable to keep the redoubt which it had carried, not being supported by the third division, which was scarcely yet drawn up in order of battle. This gallant regiment, commanded by General Bonami, was therefore constrained to yield to the superior force which overwhelmed it, and rejoined its division with the loss of its general. That division, with General Gerard's, continued to maintain itself on the hill, and to withstand the utmost efforts of the Russians.

"The enemy, encouraged by the success he had just obtained, brought forward his reserve, with the hope of striking a decisive blow. It was partly composed of the imperial guard. Having

concentrated all his forces, he attacked our centre, on which our right had now wheeled. For a moment we feared that our lines would have been broken, and that we should have lost the redoubt we had gained the preceding evening. Our troops however, approached the intrenchments of the enemy, when a sudden discharge of grape-shot from the whole of the Russian artillery spread ruin and terror through our ranks."

The French troops were now wellnigh falling back, but the presence of mind of Eugène Beauharnais kept them tolerably steady. The next movement was a brilliant charge of Napoleon's cuirassiers. Labaume continues—

"At this instant a division of cuirassiers, from the centre of the army, rushed on the redoubt, and offered to our astonished sight a grand and sublime spectacle. The whole eminence which overhung us appeared in an instant a mass of moving iron: the glitter of the arms, and the rays of the sun, reflected from the helmets and cuirasses of the dragoons, mingled with the flames of the cannon that on every side vomited forth death, gave to the redoubts the appearance of a volcano in the midst of the army.

"The enemy's infantry, placed near this point, behind a ravine, kept up so destructive a fire on our cuirassiers, that they were obliged immediately to retire. Our infantry took their place. They were supported by the third corps of cavalry commanded by Generals Chastel, Thiry, and Dommanget, who charged and overthrew every thing which it found in its way. The aides-de-camp Carbonel, Turenne, and Grammont, were wounded at the side of Count Grouchy. The general himself was struck soon afterwards; but the redoubt was in our possession. In forcing the intrenchments, our troops made a horrible massacre of the Russians, whose efforts to retain the redoubt rivalled ours to carry it.

"In spite of the enemy's tremendous fire, the viceroy and his staff remained at the head of Broussier's division, followed by the 13th and 30th regiments, and rushing on the redoubt, entered it by the breastwork, and massacred on their pieces the cannoneers that served them. Prince Kutusoff, astonished at this attack, immediately ordered the cuirassiers of the guard to advance and endeavour to retake the position. These were the best of their cavalry. The shock between their cuirassiers and ours was therefore terrible; and one may judge of the fury with which both parties fought, when the enemy, in quitting the field, left it completely covered with dead.

"The interior of the redoubt presented a horrid spectacle. The dead were heaped on one another. The feeble cries of the wounded were scarcely heard amid the surrounding tumult. Arms of every description were scattered over the field of battle. The parapets half demolished had their embrasures entirely destroyed. Their places were distinguished only by the cannon, the greatest part of which were dismounted and separated from

the broken carriages. In the midst of this scene of carnage, I discovered the body of a Russian cannoneer decorated with three crosses. In one hand he held a broken sword, and with the other firmly grasped the carriage of the gun at which he had so valiantly fought.

"All the Russian soldiers in the redoubt chose rather to perish than to yield. The general who commanded them would have perished also if his valour had not saved his life. That brave man had sworn to die at his post, and he would have kept his oath. Seeing all his companions lying dead around him, he endeavoured to throw himself on our swords, and he would inevitably have met his death, had not the honour of taking such a prisoner arrested the cruelty of the soldiers. The viceroy received him with kindness, and caused him to be conducted to Napoleon, who, throughout this memorable day, remained constantly in the rear of the centre, and executed some grand manœuvres with the first corps and the Poles on the extremity of the right."

Bagration resisted all the attempts made by the French and Poles on his left, and being reinforced by Strogonoff, and Woronzow's grenadiers, drove back the Poles with considerable loss: Ney then went to the support of the Poles with a corps of Westphalians, and the divisions of Ledru, Morand, and Gerard coming up, they all attacked together; at the same moment Prince Eugène brought up his tremendous parks of artillery, and advancing, penetrated into the very centre of the Russian lines. These movements ensured the victory. Labaume continues—

"Prince Eugène's attention had been wholly taken up by the centre, when it was recalled to his left by a grand movement of cavalry directed by the Russians on that point. This obliged General Delzons to form his brigade into a square on the left of Borodino. He was several times attacked; but the enemy seeing that no impression could be made on him, advanced to the extremity of our left, and commenced a brisk attack on our light cavalry commanded by Count Ornano, which were for a moment thrown into disorder. The prince, who happened to be on the spot, threw himself into the middle of a square formed by the 84th, and prepared to set it in motion, when the Cossacks were in their turn repulsed, and taking to flight, disengaged our left. Every thing was then restored to the greatest order.

"The prince was found on all points, exhorting every officer to do his duty, and reminding him, that on this day depended the glory of France. He was seen at all the batteries, causing them to advance in proportion as the enemy gave way; and, braving every peril, he himself instructed the cannoneers how to direct their fire. His aide-de-camp, Maurice Mejean, who had been present at every post of danger from the beginning of the day, now received a wound in the thigh; while General Giffinga and the

equerry Bellisomi had their horses killed under them. His highness had at one time placed himself on the parapet of the grand redoubt, surrounded by his officers, and thence remarked from the embrasures all the movements of the enemy, paying no attention to the bullets which frequently whistled near him. Among the persons who composed his suite was Colonel de Bourmont, whose great merit was only equalled by his rare modesty. He had dismounted with the other officers, and was leaning on the pommel of his saddle, when General Guillemillot letting a paper fall, the colonel stooped to pick it up. That motion saved his life, for at that very instant a cannon-ball passed through the breast of his horse.

"Although we had taken two redoubts, the enemy had still a third, situated on another eminence, and separated by a ravine. Thence served, they kept up an incessant fire on our regiments, some of which were sheltered by a wood, and others were behind the grand redoubt. We remained several hours in this state of inaction, convinced that Kutusoff was preparing to retreat. The artillery alone vomited from every side flames and death. At this period General Houard was killed by a grape-shot, while commanding the second brigade of the thirteenth division. He was companion in arms to General Plausanne, and they perished on the same day. United in their lives, they were not separated in death; for they were both interred in that field which had witnessed their gallantry."

For ten hours the French had to sustain the murderous attacks of the Russians, and even before the battle was finished, there was not a corps but had lost one or more of its chiefs. It would require a long list to enumerate even the generals who fell. Among them were Montbrun, Augustus Caulaincourt, Compère, Marion, and Lepel. Besides these, thirty generals were wounded: in the latter number were Grouchy, Nansouty, Latour-Maubourg, Friant, Rapp, Compans, Desaix, and Lahoussaye.

The Russians lost about forty thousand men, and fifty generals killed or wounded. Among the last were the Prince Bagration, who died a few days after, Prince Charles of Mecklenburg, and the Generals Tutschoff, Rejewsky, Gotschakoff, Kanoveritzen, Gregoff, Woronzow, Krapowilski, and the two Boehmetieffs.

The troops engaged were nearly equal in number, each army being about one hundred and thirty thousand strong. The loss of the French, who were more exposed than the Russians, seeing that the latter fought in an intrenched position, has been estimated as high as fifty thousand men. The French fired ninety thousand cannon, and the soldiers who had been supplied with one hundred cartridges each, expended them all. Twenty-five thousand horses were either burnt or buried on the field of battle!

The result of this carnage was, that the Russians maintained their right wing and only lost a little ground with their left. The French occupied that little ground after sustaining a heavy cannonade, and during the night the Russians retreated in the finest order. In the words of Labaume—

“Although the victory was ours, the cannon roared with unabated fury, and continued to overwhelm new victims. The viceroy, ever indefatigable and unmindful of danger, was on every part of the field of battle, exposed to a shower of grape-shot and bullets. The firing still continued, and in the evening it was so briskly maintained, that the legion of the Vistula, commanded by General Claparède was forced to kneel down behind the grand redoubt. We remained more than an hour in this uncomfortable position. The enemy was then more quiet, and only fired a few shots at intervals, while the silence of the last redoubt, gave us reason to believe that the Russians were preparing to retreat on the road to Mojaïsk.

“The weather, which had been very fine during the day, became, towards evening, stormy, cold, and damp. The whole army bivouacked on the ground it had gained. This encampment was most painful: neither our men nor our horses had any thing to eat, and thus the pangs of hunger were added to those of cold.

“The next day, the 8th of September, at an early hour, we surveyed the field of battle. What was only fancied the preceding evening had actually taken place. The enemy, seeing the intrepidity with which we carried their redoubts, despaired of maintaining their position, and resolved to evacuate it during the night. As we passed over the ground which they had occupied, we were enabled to judge of the immense loss that the Russians had sustained. In the space of a square league, almost every spot was covered with the killed or wounded. On many places the bursting of the shells had promiscuously heaped together men and horses. The fire of our howitzers had been so destructive that mountains of dead bodies were scattered over the plain; and the few places that were not encumbered with the slain were covered with broken lances, muskets, helmets, and cuirasses, or with grape-shot and bullets, as numerous as hailstones after a violent storm. But the most horrid spectacle was the interior of the ravines; almost all the wounded who were able to drag themselves along had taken refuge there to avoid the shot. These miserable wretches, heaped one upon another, and almost suffocated with blood, uttering the most dreadful groans, and invoking death with piercing cries, eagerly besought us to put an end to their torments. We had no means to relieve them, and could only deplore the calamities inseparable from a war so atrocious.

“While the cavalry pursued the enemy, the viceroy ordered his engineers to destroy the redoubt; and, as the fourth corps

remained encamped on the field of battle, it was presumed we should pass the night there. His highness had also ordered his suite to establish themselves in the church of Borodino, the only building that had escaped the flames; but it was filled with the wounded, and the surgeons were employed in dressing and amputating. The staff of the prince then proceeded to establish their quarters in the village of Novoe, on the banks of the Kologha, near the road to Mojaïsk."

On the following day, as Labaume approached the town of Mojaïsk, he saw it enveloped in flames. The inhabitants had set fire to their houses and then fled. These frequent conflagrations, and the determined spirit of the people ought to have prepared Bonaparte for what he had to expect at Moscow, but he obstinately shut his eyes to all that was contrary to his wishes. Labaume continues—

"Pursuing our route through thick underwood and briers, we arrived at a large village, called Vrouinkovo, where we understood the head-quarters were to be established. On entering it, we saw on an eminence at a distance some very neat houses, and four steeples elegantly constructed. We were about to halt at this village where abundance seemed to reign, when it was announced that the fourth corps was to proceed to a town of the name of Rouza, the steeples of which were plainly perceived. When we left Vrouinkovo we met a great number of peasants with carts loaded with the most valuable furniture and property. A sight so new excited our astonishment, and asking Colonel Asselin what could be the reason of this singular assemblage, he answered me as follows :

" ' In proportion as our armies advanced into the interior of Russia, the Emperor Alexander, seconding the wishes of the nobility, and following the example of Spain, endeavoured to make this a national war. Accordingly the nobility and the priests have by persuasions and by bribes induced all the peasants who were dependent upon them to rise *en masse* against us. Of the numerous districts which have adhered to this system of defence, that of Rouza has shown itself the most zealous. The whole population, animated by their seigneur who had declared himself the chief of the insurrection, was properly organized, and ready to join the Russian army, as soon as they should receive the necessary orders.'

" ' As Rouza was at a distance of five or six leagues from the high road, the inhabitants had flattered themselves that we should not pass through their town, and had consequently remained secure and tranquil. What was their surprise, or rather their terror,' continued the colonel, ' when I was sent by the viceroy, and presented myself with a dozen of Bavarian light horse before the town ! The dismayed peasants rushed from their houses, hastily harnessed their horses to the carts which you now see, and fled with the utmost precipitation.'

"The men, however, who had been enrolled for the levy, collected at the voice of their lord, and armed with poles, lances, and scythes, assembled in the square, and immediately advanced towards us; but this timid populace could not resist a few soldiers accustomed to battle, and presently took to flight. The chief alone evinced more firmness. He awaited us on the square, and armed with a poniard, menaced all who summoned him to surrender. "*How can I survive the dishonour of my country?*" cried he, foaming with rage. "*Our altars are no more! Our empire is disgraced! Take my life—it is odious to me!*" We wished to calm him, and endeavoured to wrench his poniard from him: but he became more furious, and wounded several of our soldiers, who then, listening only to revenge, killed him with repeated stabs of the bayonet."

"This was scarcely effected when the advanced-guard of the fourth corps entered Rouza. On my reciting what had happened,' continued the colonel, 'they immediately pursued the peasants who had fled with their effects and their cattle. They soon came up with them, and those whom you see here are part of the fugitives escaped from Rouza. Go into the town,' added he, 'and you will see many more of them.'

"As we approached the town, we saw a great number of these carts brought back by the dragoons. It was an affecting spectacle. These vehicles were loaded with children and old people. The heart was pierced with grief to think how soon our soldiers should divide among them the carts and horses which constituted the sole fortunes of these disconsolate families.'

"At length we entered Rouza; and as we advanced to the very centre of the town, we saw in every street, a crowd of soldiers pillaging the houses, unmindful of the cries of the inhabitants, or the tears of the mothers, who, to soften the hearts of the conquerors, presented their children on their knees, bathed in tears, and distractedly wringing their hands, these interesting creatures begged only for their lives, and those of their babes."

After the battle of the Moskwa or Borodino, the French army marched in three columns on Moscow. It did not, however, advance with the rapidity of a triumphant army; for the distance between Borodino and Moscow is only about seventy-five miles, and the French did not enter that old capital till nine days after the battle. Napoleon was wavering and undecided, and General the Count de Segur, who attributes many of the errors of this campaign to ill health, says he was sick at the time. "The premature inclemency of autumn was singularly propitious to the Russian empire. On the 7th of September, the eve of the great battle, a hurricane announced its fatal presence. It chilled and froze Napoleon. From the night that preceded this decisive combat, it has been seen that a fever fired his blood, and confused his mind, and he was worn down by this fever during the battle. These sufferings checked his steps

and enchaind his genius during the five days which followed, and thus Kutusoff was allowed time to rally his army, and entirely withdraw it from our pursuit. Napoleon remained three whole days at Mojaïsk, shut up in his bedroom, consumed by a burning fever, exhausted with business, and devoured by anxieties. By a violent cold he had lost the use of his speech. Forced to dictate to seven persons at once, and not being able to make himself heard, he wrote the heads of his despatches on different slips of paper. If any difficulties arose, he explained himself by signs.

"There was a moment on which Bessières enumerated to him all the generals that had been killed and wounded on the day of battle. This fatal nomenclature was so poignant to him, that, by a violent effort, he recovered his voice, and interrupted the marshal with this coarse and hasty exclamation: "Let us have eight days at Moscow, and the loss will not be thought of."*

Before entering Moscow, Murat made an unnecessary attack on a Russian column stationed in a strong position near Krymskoïe, and rashly threw away the lives of two thousand of his men there. Marshal Mortier who had endeavoured to dissuade Murat from making the attack, was furious when he saw its result, and he wrote to the emperor to declare that he would no longer obey the orders of the King of Naples. This was far from being the only violent quarrel between the military chiefs during the ill-fated campaign of Moscow.

The Count de Segur's description of Napoleon's approach and entrance into old Moscow is exceedingly striking:

"He had too many things to think about to be able to indulge long in his feelings. His first exclamation was, 'Well, there it is at last, that famous city!' His second, 'It is high time!' Already, his eyes, fixed on that capital, expressed eager impatience: in it he fancied he saw all the Russian empire. Those walls enclosed all his hope, peace, the expenses of the war, an immortal glory: and thus his greedy glances were riveted on all its gates. When will those gates open? When will he see the deputation that shall offer him the riches, the population of Moscow, its senate, and the principal Russian nobility? By so fortunate a termination to the enterprise he had engaged in with such audacious temerity, his imprudence would acquire the name of grandeur, and be considered only as a proof of a far-sighted calculation, secure of its result. From that moment the incomplete victory of the Moskwa would be reckoned his finest action. Thus every thing which might have proved his ruin, would become his glory. The day was about to commence which would decide whether he was the greatest or the rashest man in the world; whether he had raised himself an altar, or dug for himself a grave.

"In the mean time he began to feel very uneasy. Already on

* Histoire de Napoleon et de la Grande Armée, pendant l'Année 1812.

his right and left he saw Prince Eugène and Poniatowski pouncing on the hostile city: before him Murat had reached in the midst of his *eclaireurs* the entrance of the suburbs, and yet no deputation appeared; a single officer of Miloradowitch only came to declare that that general would set fire to the town, if time was not allowed for his rear-guard to evacuate it.

"Napoleon granted every thing. For some moments the first troops of the two armies were intermingled. Murat was recognised by the Cossacks: with the familiarity of the wandering tribes of the North, and ardent as the nations of the South, they pressed around him: then by their gestures and cries, they extolled his bravery and intoxicated him by their admiration. The king took the watches of his officers, and distributed them amongst these yet barbarous warriors. One of them called him their hetman.

"For a moment, Murat was tempted to think he might find among these officers a new Mazeppa, that he might be one himself: he thought he had gained them over. On such an occasion, this moment of truce kept up the hopes of Napoleon, so necessary was it for him to delude himself. He was amused by it during two hours.

"In the mean time the day was wasting, and Moscow remained gloomy, silent, and as it were, without life. The anxiety of the emperor increased: the impatience of the soldiers became more difficult of restraint. A few officers at length penetrated into the city. 'Moscow was deserted!'

"At this sad news, which he received with evident irritation, and affected to disbelieve, Napoleon descended from the mountain called 'Of-Health,' and rode on to the Moskowa and Dorogomilow-gate. He again stopped at the entrance of that barrier. Murat pressed him to proceed. 'Well,' replied he, 'enter, then, as they will have it so.' He recommended the strictest discipline, and still hoped the best. 'Perhaps,' said he, 'these inhabitants do not understand the forms of a surrender; for here every thing is new—they are new to us, and we to them!'

"Report now succeeded to report, and all accounts agreed. Some French inhabitants of Moscow, venturing to quit their hiding-places, where during several days they had concealed themselves from the fury of the Russian populace, came out of the town and confirmed the fatal news. The emperor summoned Daru, and exclaimed, 'Moscow deserted! What an improbable event! We must enter. Go and bring me the boyards.' He thought that those noblemen, either stiffened by pride, or paralyzed by terror, would remain immovable in their homes. And how, in effect, was it possible to persuade oneself that so many sumptuous palaces, so many magnificent churches, so many rich counting-houses, had been abandoned by their possessors, just like the poor hamlets and wood huts we had just marched by? Meanwhile, however, Daru failed in his mission. Not a single

Russian presented himself; no household chimney was seen to smoke, not the least noise was heard in that immense and populous city: it seemed as if its three hundred thousand inhabitants had been suddenly struck by a mute and motionless enchantment: it was the silence of the desert!

"Such, however, was the obstinacy of Napoleon that he still indulged in his expectations, and waited for a Russian deputation. At last an officer determined to please him, and probably impressed with the notion that whatever the emperor willed, ought to be accomplished, entered into the city, seized five or six vagabonds, and drove them before his horse to the emperor's presence. He fancied he had conducted a deputation, but at the first answer of those poor wretches, Napoleon perceived that he had only a few miserable journeymen before him.

"Then, and not before, he was convinced of the entire evacuation of Moscow, and lost all the hopes he had founded upon that city. He shrugged his shoulders, and said with that air of scorn which he usually threw on whatsoever opposed his desires, 'Ah! the Russians do not yet know the effect which will be produced upon them by my taking their capital!'

"Napoleon did not enter into Moscow until nightfall. He took up his residence in one of the best houses of the town, but every thing continued silent and desolate around him. In the dead of night, a fire broke out in the Marchand palace, in the very centre of the city, and a Russian police officer informed the emperor, that a regular plan and preparations were made for the burning of all Moscow to the ground. Napoleon could not sleep that night; he was feverish and much agitated. As soon as day dawned, he ran to the fire, where he abused the young guard and the Marshal Mortier for their negligence. The conflagration had spread; dense volumes of smoke were seen issuing from fire-proof houses into which the incendiaries had penetrated. He turned away with a thoughtful air, and entered the imperial palace of the Kremlin. There his spirit revived; his ambition was flattered by that conquest, and he was heard to exclaim, 'I am then at last in Moscow, in the ancient palace of the Czars, in the Kremlin!' He then examined all the details of the vast edifice with an inquisitive and satisfied pride.

"During this day, Mortier succeeded to a considerable extent in checking the progress of the fire, but the darkness of night favoured the operations of the incendiaries, and the French troops, exhausted by the long exertions they had made, became sleepy and careless. Even some of their superior officers, only looked to the preservation of those particular parts of the town where their respective corps were stationed.

"Two officers had established themselves in an apartment of the Kremlin which commanded a view of all the north and west of Moscow. About midnight they were awakened by an extraordinary blaze of light. They looked out, and saw palace after palace taking fire, and that, driven by a strong north wind, the

flames were approaching the Kremlin, within whose walls reposed the *élite* of their army, and its mighty chief Napoleon. Sparks of fire, and fragments of burning matter had already begun to fly round the roofs of the Kremlin, when the wind suddenly changing from north to west, drove them in a different direction.

"In the mean time, however, a glare of horrid light burst from other quarters of the town; other flames approached the Kremlin, where the officers cursed the imprudence and the want of discipline among the French soldiery, for it was long believed that these were the causes of the disaster. But three times the wind changed, and three times those avenging flames were driven from the imperial quarters when their destruction appeared inevitable.

"At this sight, a fearful suspicion seized us. The Muscovites knowing our temerity and carelessness, have probably conceived the hope of burning with Moscow, our soldiers drunk with wine and sleep; or rather, have they dared to believe that they will envelop Napoleon in this catastrophe—that the death of that man is worth the loss of their capital—that such a result will be great enough to compensate for the entire destruction of Moscow—that Heaven, perhaps, in order to accord them so great a victory, demands as great a sacrifice—and that, finally, that immense Colossus requires as immense a funeral pyre?

"It is not positively known whether they entertained these thoughts, but nothing except the star of Napoleon could have saved us from their realization. In fact, not only did the Kremlin contain a powder magazine, then unknown to us, but there was a whole park of artillery which the careless soldiers had left unprotected close to the windows of the emperor's apartments.

"At this moment the furious flames darted from all sides—the wind increased, and sparks flew thickly round the Kremlin. The flower of our army and the emperor would have been lost, had only one of those sparks that flew over our heads, descended on one of our powder waggons! We were in this state of anxiety during several hours. At last the day, a day of gloom and desolation, dawned; it seemed to increase the grand horror, to pale it, to deprive it of its glare. A vast number of officers took refuge in the halls of the palace. The chiefs and Mortier himself, conquered by the fire they had been fighting with for thirty-six hours, came there to drop down from exhaustion and despair. They were silent, and we accused ourselves—we looked upon ourselves with a sort of disgust. The cry of horror that Europe would soon utter, terrified us. We approached one another with downcast eyes, in consternation at so frightful a catastrophe: it sullied our glory, it snatched the fruits of victory from us, it threatened our existence present and to come. We were no longer any thing but an army of criminals, upon whom

God and the civilized world would execute justice. We were only in part relieved from these agonizing thoughts by receiving reports from all sides that it was the Russians themselves who burned Moscow by order of their government. Instructions were then issued for the arrest and instant execution of all incendiaries, but it was too late. The army was presently a-foot. The old guard, that occupied one part of the Kremlin, got under arms; baggage-waggon and loaded horses filled all the courts of the palace; we were sad at heart, and overcome with despair at seeing so excellent a cantonment destined to perish. Masters of Moscow, we were obliged to go and bivouac, without provisions, beyond its gates.

"Napoleon was now walking up and down his apartment with hurried, irregular steps. His short and vehement gestures revealed the trouble of his soul. He had important and pressing work to do, but he quitted it, began again, and then again quitted it, to rush to the windows and contemplate the progress of the conflagration. Sudden and brief expressions escaped from his oppressed breast. 'What a frightful spectacle! It is their own doing! So many palaces! What extraordinary resolution! What men! These are your true Scythians!'

"At this moment the voice spread that the Kremlin was undermined. The Russians have asserted this, and several writings attest the fact. Some of the emperor's servants lost their senses through affright; the old soldiers passively awaited for Napoleon's orders; and the only answer Napoleon gave to the alarm was a smile of incredulity.

"He continued nevertheless to walk up and down convulsively, and then to stop at every window to gaze on the all-conquering element that was drawing more and more closely round the Kremlin.

"Already the air we breathed was charged with smoke and ashes. Night approached, and would add her shades to our dangers; the equinoctial wind, in alliance with the Russians, redoubled its violence. Then we saw the King of Naples and the Prince Eugène run hastily through the palace, and being joined by the Prince of Neufchâtel, they penetrated into the emperor's apartment, where, with prayers, with gesticulations, and on their knees, they implored him to leave that place of desolation. It was all in vain. He was master of the palace of the czars, and he seemed resolved to dispute possession of that proud conquest even with that conflagration, when, all at once, the cry was heard, 'The Kremlin is on fire!' The emperor went out to judge of the danger. Twice had the fire been lit and extinguished in the part of the building he occupied; but the tower of the arsenal was still in flames: a soldier of the Russian police had just been found there. He was carried before Napoleon and examined. That Russian was the incendiary of the palace: he had executed orders given him by his

chief. Thus every thing was devoted to destruction, not even excepting the ancient and sacred Kremlin. The emperor made a gesture expressive of scorn and ill-humour; they carried out the unfortunate wretch to the first court, where the furious grenadiers destroyed him with their bayonets.

"This incident decided Napoleon. He rapidly descended the great northern staircase, so famous for the massacre of the Strelitz in the time of Peter the Great, and ordered that he should be guided out of the town, about a league on the Petersburg road, towards the imperial chateau of Petrowski."*

It was not without running extreme risk that Bonaparte and his followers escaped from Moscow. At one of the most perilous passes, Davoust, who had been badly wounded in the battle of Moskowa, caused himself to be carried into the midst of the burning houses to rescue Napoleon, or to perish with him. When he found him, he threw himself into his arms with a transport of joy. The emperor received him well, but with that perfect calmness which never quitted him in moments of danger. Shortly after this meeting Napoleon had to pass a long train of powder-waggons that were defiling through the streets of the burning city: this was not the least of his dangers, but it was the last, and without any material injury to his person, he arrived at Petrowski at nightfall.

The Count de Segur's narrative of the burning of Moscow is horrible, and yet there are many traits of atrocity and wretchedness which he has omitted to relate. The following quotations from Labaume will supply some deficiencies:

"The most heart-rending scene which my imagination had ever conceived, far surpassing the saddest story in ancient or modern history, now presented itself to my eyes. A part of the population of Moscow, terrified at our arrival, had concealed themselves in cellars or secret recesses of their houses. As the fire spread around, we saw them rushing in despair from their various asylums. They uttered no imprecation, they breathed no complaint; fear had rendered them dumb; and hastily snatching up their most precious effects, they fled before the flames. Others, of greater sensibility, and actuated by the genuine feelings of nature, saved only their parents, or their infants, who were closely clasped in their arms. They were followed by their other children, running as fast as their little strength would permit, and with all the wildness of childish terror, vociferating the beloved name of mother. The old people, borne down by grief more than by age, had not sufficient power to follow their families, and expired near the houses in which they were born. The streets, the public places, and particularly the churches, were filled with these unhappy people, who,

* Segur. *Hist. de Napoleon et de la Grand Armée*, vol. ii.

lying on the remains of their property, suffered even without a murmur. No cry, no complaint was heard. Both the conqueror and the conquered were equally hardened; the one by excess of fortune, the other by excess of misery.

"The ravages of the uncontrollable fire soon reached the finest parts of the city. Those palaces which we had admired for the beauty of their architecture, and the elegance of their furniture, were enveloped in flames. Their magnificent fronts, ornamented with bas-reliefs and statues, fell with a dreadful crash on the fragments of the pillars which had supported them. The churches, though covered with iron and lead, were likewise destroyed, and with them those beautiful steeples, which we had seen the night before, resplendent with gold and silver. The hospitals, too, which contained more than twelve thousand wounded, soon began to burn. This offered a harrowing spectacle. Almost all these poor wretches perished. A few who still lingered, were seen crawling half burnt amongst the smoking ruins; and others, groaning under heaps of dead bodies, endeavoured in vain to extricate themselves from the horrible destruction which surrounded them.

"How shall I describe the confusion and tumult when permission was granted to pillage this immense city! Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and prostitutes, eagerly ran through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, and carrying away every thing which could gratify their avarice. Some covered themselves with stuffs, richly worked with gold and silk; some were enveloped in beautiful and costly furs; while others dressed themselves in women's and children's pelisses, and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under the most splendid habits of the court. The rest crowded into the cellars, and, forcing open the doors, drank to excess the most luscious wines, and carried off an immense booty.

"This horrible pillage was not confined to the deserted houses alone, but extended to those which were inhabited, and soon the eagerness and wantonness of the plunderers, caused devastations which almost equalled those occasioned by the conflagration. Every asylum was violated by the licentious troops.

"Towards evening, when Napoleon no longer thought himself safe in a city, the ruin of which seemed inevitable, he left the Kremlin, and established himself with his suite in the castle of Petrowsky. When I saw him pass by, I could not behold without abhorrence the chief of a barbarous expedition, who evidently endeavoured to escape the decided testimony of public indignation, by seeking the darkest road. He sought it, however, in vain. On every side the flames seemed to pursue him, and their horrible and mournful glare, flashing on his guilty head, reminded me of the torches of Eumenides pursuing the destined victims of the Furies!

"The generals likewise received orders to quit Moscow. Licentiousness then became unbounded. The soldiers, no longer restrained by the presence of their chiefs, committed every kind of excess. No retreat was safe, no place sufficiently sacred to afford protection against their rapacity. Nothing more fully excited their avarice than the church of Saint Michael, the sepulchre of the Russian emperors. An erroneous tradition had propagated the belief that it contained immense riches. Some grenadiers presently entered it, and descended with torches into the vast subterranean vaults, to disturb the peace and silence of the tomb. But instead of treasures they found only stone coffins, covered with pink velvet, and bearing a thin silver plate, on which were engraved the names of the czars, and the dates of their birth and decease. Mortified at the disappointment of their hopes, they searched the very coffins, and seized every offering which had been consecrated by piety, and chiefly valuable on account of the sentiments which had caused the offering. With all their excesses of plunder, they mingled the most degrading and horrible debauchery. Neither nobility of blood, nor the innocence of youth, nor the tears of beauty, were respected. The licentiousness was cruel and boundless; but it was inevitable in a savage war, in which sixteen different nations, opposite in their manners and their language, thought themselves at liberty to commit every crime.

"Penetrated by so many calamities, I hoped that the shades of night would cast a veil over the dreadful scene, but they contributed, on the contrary, to render the conflagration more terrible. The violence of the flames, which were strangely agitated by the wind, produced the most awful appearance on a sky which was darkened by the thickest smoke. Frequently was seen the glare of the burning torches, which the incendiaries were hurling from the tops of the highest towers, on those parts of the city which had yet escaped destruction, and which resembled at a distance so many passing meteors. Nothing could equal the anguish that absorbed every feeling heart, and which was increased in the dead of the night, by the cries of the miserable victims who were savagely murdered, or by the screams of the young females who fled for protection to their weeping mothers, and whose ineffectual struggles tended only to inflame the passion of their violators. To these dreadful groans and heart-rending cries, which every moment broke upon the ear, were added, the howlings of the dogs, which, chained to the doors of the palaces, according to the custom at Moscow, could not escape from the fire which surrounded them.

"Desirous of terminating the recital of this horrible catastrophe, I shall pass over in silence many circumstances revolting to humanity, and merely describe the dreadful confusion which arose in our army when the fire had reached every part of Moscow, and the whole city was become one immense flame.

"The different streets could no longer be distinguished, and the places on which the houses had stood were marked only by confused piles of stones, calcined and black. The wind, blowing with violence, howled mournfully, and overwhelmed us with ashes, with burning fragments, and even with the iron plates which had covered the palaces. On whatever side we turned we saw only ruins and flames. The fire raged as if it were fanned by some invisible power. The most extensive ranges of buildings seemed to kindle, to burn, and to disappear in an instant.

"A long line of carriages was perceived through the thick smoke loaded with booty. Being too heavily laden for the exhausted cattle to draw them along, they were obliged to halt at every step, when we heard the execrations of the drivers, who, terrified at the encircling flames, endeavoured to push forward with dreadful outcries. The soldiers were diligently employed in forcing open every door. They seemed to fear lest they should leave one house untouched, and as if the booty last acquired was preferable to what they had already obtained, they abandoned their former prize to seize on every new object. Some, when their carriages were laden almost to breaking down, bore the rest of their plunder on their backs. The flames filling the principal streets, often obliged them to retrace their steps. Thus, wandering from place to place through an immense town, the avenues of which they did not know, they sought in vain to extricate themselves from a labyrinth of fire. Many, instead of approaching the gates by which they might have escaped, wandered further from them, and thus became the victims of their own rapacity. The love of plunder was yet predominant, and induced our soldiers to brave every danger. They precipitated themselves into the midst of the flames. They waded in blood, treading upon the dead bodies without remorse, whilst the ruins of the houses, mixed with burning coals, fell thick on their murderous heads. They would probably all have perished, if the insupportable heat had not forced them at length to withdraw into the camp.

"The fourth corps having also received orders to leave Moscow, we proceeded (September 17th) towards Petrowsky, where our divisions were encamped. At that moment, about the dawn of day, I witnessed a spectacle, at once affecting and terrible; namely, a crowd of the miserable inhabitants drawing upon some mean vehicles all that they had been able to save from the conflagration. The soldiers, having robbed them of their horses, the men and women were slowly and painfully dragging along their little carts, some of which contained an infirm mother, others a paralytic old man, and others the miserable wrecks of half-consumed furniture. Children, half naked, followed these interesting groups. Affliction, to which their age is commonly a stranger, was impressed on their features, and, when the soldiers approached them, they ran crying into the arms of their

mothers. Without a shelter and without food, these unfortunate beings wandered in the fields, and fled into the woods; but wherever they bent their steps they met the conquerors of Moscow, who frequently ill-treated them, and sold before their eyes the goods which had been stolen from their deserted habitations."

Bonaparte remained at Petrowsky during the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th of September. Moscow continued to burn for these four days, after which the fire slackened, rain fell in torrents, and the Kremlin, after all, escaped destruction. Labaume's description of the encampment at Petrowsky is very striking:

"In the mean time the rain fell in torrents; and the houses near the *chateau* being too few in number to contain the numerous troops who were encamped there, it was almost impossible to obtain shelter: men, horses, and carriages, bivouacked in the middle of the fields. The staff-officers, placed around the *chateaux* where their generals resided, were established in the English gardens, and lodged under grottos, Chinese pavilions, or greenhouses; whilst the horses, tied under acacias or lindentrees, were separated from each other by hedges or beds of flowers. The situation of this camp rendered it truly picturesque, and the effect was still more extraordinary from the new costume adopted by the soldiers, most of whom, as some defence from the inclemency of the weather, had covered themselves with every species of apparel used by the neighbouring nations; and which had once formed the most pleasing and amusing variety on the public walks of Moscow. Thus we saw, walking in our camp, soldiers dressed *à la Tartare*, *à la Cosaque*, *à la Chinoise*; one wore the Polish cap, another the high bonnet of the Persians, the Baskirs, or the Kalmouks. In short, our army presented the image of a carnival; and it was afterwards justly said, that our retreat commenced with a masquerade, and ended with a funeral.

"The abundance which the soldiers now enjoyed made them speedily forget their fatigues. With the rain pouring on their heads, and their feet sunk in the mud, they consoled themselves with good cheer, and the advantages which they derived from trafficking in the plunder of Moscow. Although it was forbidden to enter the city, the soldiers, allured by the hope of gain, violated the order, and always returned loaded with provisions and merchandise. Under the pretence of going on marauding parties, they returned near the Kremlin, and dug amongst the ruins, where they discovered entire magazines, whence they drew a profusion of articles of every description. Our camp no longer resembled an army, but a great fair, at which each soldier, metamorphosed into a merchant, sold the most valuable articles at an inconsiderable price; and although

unsheltered in the fields, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, he, by a singular contrast, eat off china plates, drank out of silver vases, and possessed almost every elegant and expensive article which luxury could invent.

"The neighbourhood of Petrowsky and its gardens at length became as unhealthy as it was inconvenient. Napoleon returned to establish himself at the Kremlin, which had not been burnt, and the guards and staff-officers received orders to re-enter the city (the 20th and 21st of September). According to the calculations of the engineers, a tenth part of the houses still remained. They were divided between the different corps of the grand army. We possessed the faubourg of St. Petersburg, in which we had been quartered at our first entrance into the city.

"Every one endeavoured to find quarters for himself, but rarely could we meet with houses which joined together; and to shelter a few companies, we were obliged to occupy a vast tract of land, which only offered a few habitations scattered here and there. Some of the churches, composed of less combustible materials than the other buildings, had their roofs entire, and were transformed into barracks and stables. The hymns and holy melodies which had once resounded within these sacred walls, now gave place to the neighing of horses, and the horrible blasphemies of the soldiers.

"Although the population of Moscow had almost disappeared, there still remained some of those unfortunate beings whom misery had accustomed to look on all occurrences with indifference. Most of them had become the menial servants of their spoilers, and thought themselves most happy if they were permitted to share any loathsome food which the soldiers rejected. There were also a number of unfortunate girls, and these alone derived any advantage from the plunder of Moscow. The soldiers eagerly associated with them, and when they were once introduced into our quarters, they soon became absolute mistresses of them, and squandered away all that the flames had spared. A small number, however, really merited our regard by their education, and above all by their misfortunes; for, horrible to relate, famine and misery had compelled their mothers to come and offer them to us. This immorality, under such circumstances, recoiled on those who had not sufficient virtue to resist the temptation, and who regarded with an eye of passion, the forms which hunger had emaciated, and disease had rendered dangerous and loathsome.

"There yet remained at Moscow a class of men the most contemptible of all, since they escaped the punishment due to their former crimes by consenting to commit still greater; these were the convicted felons. During the whole time of the conflagration of Moscow, they signalized themselves by the audacity

with which they executed the orders they had received. Provided with phosphorus, they lighted the fire anew, wherever it appeared to be extinguished, and even crept by stealth into the houses which were inhabited, to involve them in the general ruin.

"Several of these miscreants were arrested with torches in their hands; but their punishment, too prompt and summary, produced little effect. The people, who always detested their conquerors, regarded these executions merely as the effect of policy. In short, these victims were too obscure for the expiation of such a crime; and above all, their trial, wanting publicity and legal form, threw no light on the cause of this dreadful calamity, and could not justify us clearly in the estimation of those who persisted in believing that we were the authors of it.

"When the main body of the Russian army had taken its different positions, the proprietors of the country in the neighbourhood of Moscow, perceiving that the disasters of the war had highly exasperated the people against us, availed themselves of the popular feeling to excite a general insurrection. Many raised levies at their own expense, and put themselves at the head of the insurgent peasants. These forces, united to the Cossacks, intercepted our convoys on the great roads. But the principal aim of these military preparations was to harass our foragers, and above all to deprive them of the resources which they were still able to procure from the neighbouring villages. The different corps of our army being far separated from each other, and encamped on an immense plain covered with wood, it was impossible to guard against the destructive warfare to which we were now exposed.

"In digging under the ruins of Moscow, the soldiers often found magazines of sugar, wine, or brandy. These discoveries, although they would have been valuable in happier times, afforded no great relief to an army which had consumed all the grain of the country, and which would soon have neither bread nor meat to eat.

"Our cattle perished for want of forage, and to procure others, it was each day necessary to engage in combats always disadvantageous to us; and at so great a distance from our native country and all our resources, the smallest loss was sensibly felt.

"Our real miseries were disguised by an apparent abundance. We had neither bread nor meat, yet our tables were covered with sweetmeats, syrups, and dainties. Coffee, and every kind of wine, served in china or crystal vases, convinced us that luxury might be nearly allied to poverty. The extent and the nature of our wants rendered money of little value to us, and this gave rise to an exchange rather than a sale of commodities. They who had cloth offered it for wine; and he who had a pelisse could procure plenty of sugar and coffee."

Two little facts may be mentioned here that seem to us very characteristic of the French nation and their ruler.

On their return to the Kremlin, and in the midst of the privations just described, the soldiers fitted up a theatre, and had plays acted by performers sent from France. At the same time Napoleon composed a decree regulating the affairs of the Théâtre Français at Paris, which was dated "from the imperial headquarters in the Kremlin."

In one of his bulletins he attempted to make the people of France believe that a miracle had been operated in his favour, and the difference of so many degrees of latitude annihilated. "The season," said he, "is very fine; it is similar to the climate of France in October, or perhaps a little colder. Every thing indicates that we must soon go into winter-quarters."

But where these quarters were to be found, was the question that perplexed the army. The commonest soldier could see they could not be at Moscow, where resources were every day more and more straitened, and where they were already feeding on horseflesh. Some spoke of going to the Ukraine—others of marching on Petersburg, but the wisest among them maintained that they ought immediately to fall back on Poland and winter at Wilna. Affairs were in this state when the news of Wellington's great victory at Salamanca reached Napoleon and spread discouragement among his troops. At the same time the two flanks of his army had been unsuccessful; and the now united army of Tormagoff and Tchichagoff, in the south, and the corps of Wittgenstein in the north, threatened to close in between Moscow and Wilna. The Russian peasants were rising every where against the French with an implacable hatred; the seasons, too, in spite of Napoleon, were keeping their usual course, and winter—the fierce winter of the north, with his snows, and ice, and tempests, was at hand. Still the obstinate Napoleon moved not. He threw away a whole month at Moscow, idly dreaming to the very last that the Emperor Alexander would negotiate with him on honourable terms. On the 18th of October, Murat, who was in advance at Vincovo, was attacked by Bennigsen, who took from him three thousand prisoners and forty pieces of artillery. Thus early, the once brilliant cavalry of Murat was almost annihilated. The strongest regiments could not muster more than one hundred famishing horses. The artillery horses had become so weak that they could hardly drag their guns after them. The cannonade of Vincovo was heard at Moscow, and on the following morning, the 19th of October, Napoleon marched out with the mass of his forces to join Murat, leaving only the young guard in the town. On the 24th, that ruined metropolis was wholly evacuated by the French. Russian troops poured in immediately after the exit of the young guard, and arrived in time to save the Kremlin, which the French had attempted to blow up. They

could not, however, preserve some of the remaining houses to which the French had set fire. As soon as the Russians re-occupied Moscow, the farmers and peasants reappeared, and the markets were soon abundantly stocked.

The bloody battle of Malo-Yarowslavetz was fought on the 24th of October, and then really began the horrible retreat which the French were obliged to make in the very direction the Russians chose for them, and which was, of course, the most unfavourable of all directions. The morning after this affair, Napoleon, while making a reconnaissance was wellnigh taken prisoner. Some loud cries were suddenly heard, and some dark masses seen in a plain between him and his army. At first the cries seemed to be "Vive l'Empereur!" but soon the wild "houfrah!" and the loose but rapid advance, showed they were not French soldiers.

"It is the Cossacks," said the faithful Rapp, seizing the emperor's rein; "you must fly!" But instead of using his spurs Napoleon drew his sword, and in the midst of his attendants stood firmly waiting the attack on a bank by the road's side. Rapp's horse was wounded and thrown down by a charging lance—a troop of Cossacks were within lance's length of the emperor, when, happily for him, these children of the desert, who were always intent on plunder, saw some carriages and baggage-waggons crossing the plain, and instantly dashing after them left Napoleon in safety, and lost an inestimable prize, which, though they knew it not, had been fairly within their reach.

A day or two after this occurrence, Napoleon, whose temper was dreadfully soured, and whose intellect really appears to have been clouded, threatened to shoot his prisoner Witzingerode, who was a German by birth, but, like many of his countrymen, a Russian by adoption, and a general in that service. "You are a leader of Cossacks," shouted Bonaparte. "The Cossacks are brigands, and I will have you instantly shot as a robber!"

"I did not command the Cossacks," replied Witzingerode, "but a part of the regular army. As a Russian soldier I am at all times prepared for a French bullet!"

Napoleon having ascertained the name and country of his prisoner then proceeded in a still more angry tone: "Who and what are you? A man without a country—you have always been my enemy—you fought in the Austrian ranks at Austerlitz—I now find you with the Russians! Nevertheless you are a native of the Confederation of the Rhine—therefore, my subject and a rebel. Seize him, gendarmes, and let the traitor be tried and shot."

Napoleon's staff, however, with all the people about him, opposed this unjustifiable and most dishonourable act, and in the end the general was sent as a prisoner of war into Poland, where he was soon rescued by a pulk of Cossacks.

The masterly sketch with which we opened this supplement

tary chapter will give a general notion of the battles and losses of the French on this the most disastrous retreat in ancient or modern warfare; but we will offer a few more details that must have the effect of showing how atrocious was Napoleon's ambition and remorseless rage for conquest.

As Napoleon fell back upon Mojaïsk, he burned and destroyed every thing he found on his route, and his soldiers were soon so intent on this barbarous work that they set fire even to the places which they, or the columns after them, ought to have halted in. Hence, in a short time, the mass of the French had to bivouac on the snow with the thermometer ten degrees below zero.

"(November 6th). We marched," says Labaume, "towards Smolensk with an ardour which redoubled our strength; and approaching Doroghobouï, distant from that city only twenty leagues, the thought that in three days we should reach the end of our misfortunes, filled us with the most intoxicating joy; when suddenly the atmosphere, which had hitherto been so brilliant, was clouded by cold and dense vapours. The sun, enveloped by the thickest mists, disappeared from our sight, and the snow falling in large flakes, in an instant obscured the day, and confounded the earth with the sky. The wind, furiously blowing, howled dreadfully through the forests, and overwhelmed the firs already bent down by the ice; while the country around, as far as the eye could reach, presented one white and savage appearance.

"The soldiers, vainly struggling with the snow and the wind, that rushed upon them with tempestuous violence, could no longer distinguish the road; and falling into the ditches which bordered it, there found a grave. Others pressed on towards the end of their journey, scarcely able to drag themselves along. They were badly mounted, badly clothed, with nothing to eat, nothing to drink, shivering with the cold, and groaning with pain. Becoming selfish through despair, they afforded neither succour, nor even one glance of pity to those who, exhausted by fatigue and disease, expired around them. On that dreadful day, how many unfortunate beings, perishing by cold and famine, struggled hard with the agonies of death! We heard some of them faintly bidding their last adieu to their friends and comrades. Others, as they drew their last breath, pronounced the name of their mothers, their wives, their native country, which they were never more to see. The rigour of the frost soon seized on their benumbed limbs, and penetrated through their whole frame. Stretched on the road, we could distinguish only the heaps of snow that covered them, and which, at almost every step, formed little undulations, like so many graves. At the same time vast flights of ravens, abandoning the plain to take refuge in the neighbouring forests, croaked mournfully as they passed over our heads; and troops of dogs, which had followed us from Moscow, and lived solely on our

mangled remains, howled around us, as if they would hasten the period when we were to become their prey.

"From that day the army lost its courage and its military attitude. The soldier no longer obeyed his officer. The officer separated himself from his general. The disbanded regiments marched in disorder. Searching for food, they spread themselves over the plain, burning and pillaging whatever fell in their way. No sooner had the soldiers separated from the ranks, than they were assailed by a population eager to avenge the horrors of which it had been the victim. The Cossacks came to the succour of the peasants, and drove back to the great road, already filled with the dying and the dead, those who escaped from the carnage made among them.

"Such was the situation of the army, when we arrived at Doroghobouï. This little town would have given new life to our unfortunate troops, if Napoleon had not been so far blinded by rage, as to forget that his soldiers would be the first to suffer by the devastation which he caused to be made. Doroghobouï had been burnt, its magazines pillaged, and the brandy with which they were filled, had been poured into the streets, while the rest of the army was perishing for want of it. The few houses which remained were occupied exclusively by a small number of generals and staff-officers. The few soldiers who yet dared to face the enemy, had little shelter from the rigours of the season, while the others, who had wandered from their proper corps, were repulsed on every side, and found no asylum in any part of the camp. How deplorable was the situation of these poor wretches ! Tormented by hunger, we saw them run after every horse the moment it fell. They devoured it raw, like dogs, and fought among themselves for the mangled limbs. Worn out by want of sleep and long marches, they saw nothing around them but the snow; not one spot appeared on which they could sit or lie. Penetrated with the cold, they wandered on every side to find wood, but the snow had caused it entirely to disappear. If perchance they found a little, they knew not where to light it. If a spot less exposed than others was discovered, it afforded them but a momentary shelter; for scarcely had their fire kindled, when the violence of the wind, and the moisture of the atmosphere, suddenly extinguished it, and deprived them of the only consolation which remained in their extreme distress. In one place we saw a multitude of them, huddled together like beasts at the root of a beech, or pine, or under a waggon. Others were employed in tearing huge branches from the trees, or pulling down by main force, and burning the houses at which the officers lodged. Although they were exhausted by fatigue they stood erect. They wandered like spectres through the livelong night, or stood immovable around some enormous fire."

Labaume was with the 4th corps under Eugène Beauharnais;

but the state of affairs and of discipline was not much better where the emperor commanded in person. It is wonderful, however, and it ought to be remarked in proof of the deep and steady attachment Napoleon knew how to inspire in the breast of the French soldier, that in the midst of all these horrible sufferings, his men hardly ever murmured a complaint against him, but always received him with the old shout of "Vive l'Empereur," whenever he rode up to them, or passed them on the march. Some of the German and Polish auxiliaries at times wore a sulky face, and the Italian regiments would now and then cry out to him, "*Maestà, non abbiamo di che mangiare,*" or "*Maestà, non siamo pagati.*"* But this was almost all—even among the troops not French the signs of disapprobation rarely exceeded this. Even at the carnage of the Berezina the French cheered Napoleon as he crossed the bridge, with almost as much enthusiasm as they had shown in happier days at the bridges of Lodi and of Arcole.

It was on the banks of the Berezina that the emperor was joined by Victor and Oudinot with nearly fifty thousand men. This was a powerful reinforcement, but the Russians also had got an accession of strength, and in a very curious manner.

We have called the treaty of peace concluded between Russia and Turkey, through the medium of Mr. Stratford Canning, an important one, and so it proved in the event.

At the fatal passage of the Berezina Napoleon found, in station there, several Russian divisions which Alexander, owing to the peace just then concluded with the sultan, had been enabled to withdraw from the frontiers of Turkey.† It was these troops that gave the *coup de grace* to the French, who only broke through them after an immense loss, and who, being weakened and demoralized, harassed by hordes of Cossacks of the Don, the Dnieper, and the Ukraine, that had followed the Russians from the Danube and Turkey, soon after the affair of the Berezina, lost all order, spirit, and discipline, and had no longer even the semblance of a regular army.

"This treaty of peace," says M. Juchereau de Saint-Denys, "was destructive to Napoleon, for it rendered the Russian divisions of the Danube quite disengaged, and just at the most critical moment for the French army."

As soon as Napoleon got across the Berezina, he made his arrangements for leaving the sad skeleton of his army, and for flight to Paris with all possible speed.

On the 5th of December his head-quarters were at Smorgoni, and there, after talking to them in terms of hope and confidence, he took an affectionate and individual farewell of each of his generals. At ten o'clock on that inclement night he stepped

* "Your Majesty, we have nothing to eat! Your Majesty, we are not paid!"

† This force is often called by different writers, the army of Moldavia.

with Caulaincourt into a sledge, which, followed by only two other sledges, drove off at speed on the road to Poland.

He had no escort—none of his faithful guards with him, and had a narrow escape from being taken on that road by a determined Russian partisan. He, however, arrived safely at Warsaw, where the famous Abbé de Pradt was residing as his minister, on the 10th of December.

The abbé, who had been distracted by the most contradictory accounts of the fate of the grand army, was surprised to see a tall gaunt figure enter his room without any ceremony. This figure was dressed in furs, stiffened by frost, and was supported by a servant. At first the abbé could not recognise his old acquaintance—it was Caulaincourt, the Duke of Vicenza.

"What! you here?" exclaimed the astonished De Pradt; "and where is the emperor?"

"At the hotel d'Angleterre, expecting you."

"Why did he not stop at the palace?"

"He travels incognito."

"Do you want any thing?"

"Some Burgundy or Malaga."

"All I have is at your service; but where are you going now?"

"To Paris."

"To Paris! But where is the army?"

"It no longer exists!" said Caulaincourt, looking upwards.

"And the victory of the Beresina—and the six thousand prisoners?"

"We got across the river, that was all; the prisoners were a few hundred men, who have escaped. We have had other business than to guard them."

The Abbé de Pradt then hastened to the hotel. In the yard he saw three sledges in a dilapidated condition. One of these was for the emperor and Caulaincourt, the second for two officers of rank, and the third for the Mameluke Rustan and another servant. He was introduced in a mysterious manner into a miserable room, where a dirty female servant was blowing a fire made of green wood that smoked abominably. And there stood Napoleon, whom the abbé had last seen at Dresden, surrounded by more than royal pomp, and by his vassal kings! He was dressed in a green pelisse, lined with furs and covered with lace, and was endeavouring to keep himself warm by walking briskly about the room. He gaily saluted "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur." The abbé was inclined to show some sympathy and tenderness, but he says, "The poor man could not understand me." He therefore only helped Napoleon to take off his cloak.

The conversation then turned upon the state of public feeling at Warsaw, when the abbé was obliged to tell the emperor that the notions of the inhabitants of the grand duchy had been

much changed since they had been induced to despair of his (Napoleon's) desire or faculty of restoring the national independence of the Poles; and that now, seeing there was small chance of their becoming free Poles, they were already devising means to reconcile themselves with their former masters, the Prussians. Here two Polish ministers entered, and checked the abbé's unsavoury communications. From that moment no one spoke but Napoleon, who in a singular monologue endeavoured to cover over his recent and tremendous failure, and to enumerate plans by which to recover all his losses. "We must levy ten thousand Poles, and check the advance of these Russians. A lance and a horse is all that's wanted." And then he added, what Tom Paine had said long before him, "There is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous."

The ministers then congratulated him on his escape from so many dangers. He replied, "Dangers!—None in the world. I live in agitation. The more I bustle, the better I am. Let kings of cockayne grow fat in their palaces—horseback and the fields for me! From the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step. But why do I find you all so much alarmed here?"

"We cannot judge of the truth of the reports about the army."

"Bah! the army is in a superb condition. I have a hundred and twenty thousand men; I have beaten the Russians in every action; they are no longer the soldiers of Friedland and Eylau. The army will recruit at Wilna—I am going to bring up three hundred thousand men. Success will render the Russians foolhardy. I will fight them two or three times upon the Oder, and in a month I will be again upon the Niemen. It is true I quit my brave soldiers with regret; but I must watch Austria and Prussia, and I have more weight when seated on my throne than when at the head of my army. All that has just happened goes for nothing—a mere misfortune—the enemy can claim no merit in it. I beat them every where; I made a fool of that ass of an admiral (Napoleon could never pronounce the name Tchitchagoff); I had good troops and cannon; the position was superb; five hundred toises of a marsh—a river!" He repeated this, and then quoted from one of his bulletins a distinction he had drawn between men of strong and men of weak minds. He continued, "I have seen worse affairs than this. At Marengo I was beaten till six o'clock in the evening—next morning I was master of Italy! At Essling that archduke tried to stop me. He declared something or other. My army had already advanced a league and a half. I did not even condescend to make any disposition of my forces. Every body knows how such things are managed when I am in the field. I could not help the Danube rising sixteen feet in one night. Ah! had not that happened there would have been an end of the Austrian monarchy. But it was written in heaven that I

should marry an archduchess ! (These last words he pronounced in a very gay manner.) Just in the same way in Russia I could not help its freezing. They kept telling me every morning that I had lost ten thousand horses by the cold during the night.—Well, farewell to you !” He bade them farewell five or six times, but each time returned to his subject. “Our Norman horses are not so hardy as the Russian horses—they fall under ten degrees of cold (beneath zero). It is the same with the men. Look at the Bavarians—there remains not one of them ! Perhaps people will say I stayed too long at Moscow. That may be true ; but the weather was fine—the winter came on before its time—besides, I expected peace. On the 5th of October I sent Lauriston to treat. I thought of going to St. Petersburg, and I had time enough to do so, or to go to the south of Russia, or to Smolensk. Well ! we will make head at Wilna ; Murat is left there. Ha ! ha ! ha ! It is a grand political game ! Nothing venture, nothing win. It is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. The Russians have shown they have firmness of character—their emperor is beloved by the people—they have clouds of Cossacks—it is something to have such a kingdom—the peasants of the crown love their government—the nobility are all on horseback. They proposed to me that I should set the slaves at liberty, but that I would not do—they would have massacred every body. I made regular war upon the Emperor Alexander, but who could have expected such a blow as the burning of Moscow ? Now, they would lay the blame on us ; but it was in fact themselves who did it. Such a sacrifice would have done honour to ancient Rome !”

He then returned to his visionary project of checking the Russians by means of a large body of Polish lancers. Such a levy, however extensively made, could not have been effective against an immense army flushed with victory ; but Napoleon had behaved with so much insincerity to the Poles, he had so thoroughly committed their independence and wellbeing, that they could scarcely be expected to make any very strenuous exertions in his favour.

The ministers spoke of his passage through Silesia ; on which he said, “Ha ! Prussia ?” as if doubting the security of that route. At last he turned to depart. He interrupted the ministers who were wishing him health, by telling them that he “could not be in better health were the very devil in him.” These were his last words in the hotel d’Angleterre at Warsaw. He then threw himself into his sledge, the horses went off at speed, nearly overturning the humble carriage as it passed out of the court-yard gate, and disappeared in the darkness.

During this extraordinary monologue, which is not all madness though it looks like it, the ill-lighted fire went out. Napoleon

was kept warm by the heat of his energies and the motion of walking up and down the apartment, but the unlucky ministers were respectfully still, and were almost frozen to death.

The emperor flew on towards Paris with astonishing rapidity. Years after, when a prisoner at St. Helena, he said he had a narrow escape from being arrested while crossing Silesia. "But the Prussians," he added, "passed the time in consulting which they ought to have employed in acting. They behaved like the Saxons, of whom Charles XII. said gaily, on his leaving Dresden, 'They will be deliberating to-day whether they should have arrested me yesterday.'" At Dresden, where he arrived on the 14th of December, he was affectionately received by the kind-hearted, high-minded old king, who went incognito to visit him at an hotel.

It was late in the night of the 18th of December that Napoleon arrived before the gilded gates of the Tuileries, within which he had some difficulty in obtaining admittance. With his usual short, quick steps, he hurried up stairs, and through the magnificent saloons. The empress had retired to her private apartments. In the ante-room, a lady in waiting, alarmed at seeing a man muffled up in furs rushing to her majesty's bedchamber, threw herself between him and the door. She immediately afterwards, however, recognised the imposing, never-to-be-forgotten countenance of the emperor, and shrieked aloud. Terrified at this noise, Maria Louisa rushed into the ante-room, and then into the arms of her husband, whom she had never expected to see more. This meeting is said to have been extremely affectionate on both sides.

According to Mademoiselle Avrillon, the return of Napoleon had a magical effect on the courtly atmosphere of the Tuileries, which for some time had been cloudy and doubtful, scarcely admitting one cheering ray of that bright star—the star of Napoleon's destiny, in which in former days Frenchmen had such unlimited confidence. Mademoiselle says,

"The bad news received from the army set our courtiers seriously a-thinking. The Empress Josephine, who by long habit knew the value of court affection, saw around her persons who lately exhausted themselves in protestations of devotion and fidelity, already prepared to turn sides, according as the wind might blow. For, as they reasoned, the unheard-of catastrophe of the campaign of 1812 must produce strange fruits—bringing with them the fall of the conqueror: it was therefore right that every one should take precautions, and secure himself a port in case of a storm. This is what was thought by the majority of the great dignitaries of the household, some of whom carefully concealed their ideas, while others showed them clearly enough, when lo! of a sudden, and without any preparation, at the very moment when nobody would have been astonished at

nearing of the emperor's death, a courier arrived at Malmaison to announce that his majesty had just arrived at the Tuileries.

"Then every face cleared up, as if a great victory had been obtained. Every courtier showed more earnestness, more devotion, more enthusiasm for Napoleon than ever. They were never tired of making eulogiums on that character, unique in history, on that man as great in adversity as in prosperity, and whose iron will would, sooner or later, force victory to serve him. But with poor Josephine the blow was struck, the effect produced, and she needed no second proof to appreciate the sincerity and devotion of these exalted admirers."*

It was shortly after this return that Napoleon gave a proof of that egotism, which, in the opinion of Lord Byron, did him so much injury.

"The great error of Napoleon, 'if we have writ our annals true,' was a continual obtrusion on mankind of his want of all community of feeling for or with them: perhaps more offensive to human vanity than the active cruelty of more trembling and suspicious tyranny.

"Such were his speeches to public assemblies as well as individuals; and the single expression which he is said to have used on returning to Paris after the Russian winter had destroyed his army, rubbing his hands over the fire, 'This is pleasanter than Moscow,' would probably alienate more favour from his cause than the destruction and reverses which led to the remark."†

The enormity of Napoleon's ambition will be properly estimated, if attention be given to the following statement of what were his actual power and possessions when he began the mad invasion of Russia. With all his annexations in Belgium, Holland, Italy, and elsewhere, the so called French empire reckoned one hundred and thirty departments, containing a population of forty-two millions! Besides all this, he exercised a paramount authority in the kingdom of Italy with its six millions of inhabitants; in the kingdom of Naples with its five millions; and he held the Illyrian provinces, which formed a separate government, and included Dalmatia, Carniola, and part of Croatia. In the north of Germany, he coerced Prussia, and was absolute master of the kingdom of Westphalia, the grand duchy of Berg, &c., whilst the princes of the confederation of the Rhine were his humble vassals. Yet all this was not enough for one who was not born to the property of a rood of land—for one who in his boyhood and youth positively experienced some of the bitterest pangs of poverty!—*Editor.*

* See *Mémoires*, vol. ii. † Notes to 3d Canto of "*Childe Harold*."

NOTES ON THE AFFAIRS OF POLAND, AND BONAPARTE'S TREATMENT OF THE POLES.

Napoleon's connexion with Poland was one of the very extraordinary passages of his life, and yet it has not hitherto been explained in an impartial or satisfactory manner to the English reader. We will endeavour to supply this deficiency by a recapitulation of authenticated facts, and by as few remarks as may be of our own. On the first iniquitous partition of Poland we shall say nothing.* It was after the final partition or extinction of that unhappy country, in 1794, that the name of Bonaparte became a sort of rallying-point to the Poles. We shall therefore start with those events, and follow them up to the year 1815, and the fall of Napoleon, when Poland was partially re-established as a kingdom by the Emperor Alexander.

Stanislaus Augustus (Poniatowski), the last King of the Poles, owed his crown to Russian favour and intrigue; but though continually distracted between his duty to his country, and the necessity of procuring the goodwill of his potent neighbour, he was animated with a reforming and patriotic spirit. His mind, however, was rather refined and generous than strong and resolute; and he came too late. The friends of humanity will still bless his name for the good he proposed, and for the benefits he really conferred, and was conferring, on his country, when the confederate powers deprived him of his throne.

Under his reign, troubled as it constantly was by Russian interference, the studies of science and literature, which had fallen so much into neglect, during the anarchical or anti-national government of his predecessors, were protected and renewed with enthusiasm. The language of the country, which had been much neglected and corrupted, was now assiduously cultivated; and the king endeavoured to raise the moral condition of the people, by establishing schools throughout the provinces. "It was now," says Oginski, "that

* The first partition of Poland was made in 1772, the partitioners being Catherine the Great of Russia, Frederic the Great of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria. In this division, however, a small part of the country was left to a dependant and almost nominal King of Poland. In the last division the spoilers left nothing.

Austria, under the rule of Maria Theresa, appears long to have held back from what the empress-queen considered a project of guilt. She did not show herself so averse to the second partition; but, according to Oginski, Jomini, (See *Histoire des Guerres de la Révolution*), and other good authorities, Austria was the last and most reluctant of the three powers in acceding to the final partition of Poland, and if she did so in 1794, it was because she saw that the catastrophe was unavoidable, and would take place even though she had no part in it. It is curious, however, and characteristic to see Austria produce the following *right* to Gallitzia, the portion allotted to her. "Gallitzia, whose principal town is Lemberg, was anciently possessed by the Kings of Hungary, who gave it to Poland in 1422-23, renouncing their rights *for the present*." This equivocal expression served as a claim, and the crown of Hungary being then held by Austria, the emperor was justified in resuming jurisdiction, &c. over the country.

Konarski organized '*Les écoles pies*,' reformed the methods of instruction, and published several useful works. Bohomolec edited an instructive journal, in which he combated many of the popular prejudices. Crasicki, the most amiable and versatile of poets, criticised, amused, and instructed. Wengierski, gifted with satirical wit, lashed the vices and foibles of the magnates, who excused his hard truths for the clever verses in which they were told. Kopczynski composed a grammar, and subjected the Polish language to fixed rules. Naruscewicz, a celebrated historian and poet, translated Horace and Tacitus, and in writing the annals of his native country, he reached the elevated style of the Roman historian. The learned Albetrandi, a distinguished antiquary, sent by the king to Stockholm and Rome, with orders to collect materials connected with the history of Poland, enriched the national archives with more than a hundred precious manuscripts, all written by his own hand. The astronomer Poczebutt, the professor of physics, Strzecki, and Sniadecki, Skrzetuski, Wyrwicz, Staszis, Kollontay, and many other learned and literary characters, seriously applied themselves to the instruction of youth, and laboured to inspire a taste for study among their countrymen.

"But nothing contributed more to destroy old prejudices, and to develop the natural disposition which the Poles have in general for study and instruction, than the organization of the Military College of Cadets, and the establishment of a commission of education. These two institutions alone might suffice to give an idea of all that the king would have been capable of, if his energy had answered to his talent, and if fortune had not always combated and hampered his best intentions. In proportion as the national schools were organized and filled, and as the beneficial effects of the new system of education were felt, every thing in Poland assumed a new aspect. Ideas and opinions visibly changed in the provinces as well as in the capital. In a short time there was no one who did not desire to learn the Polish language grammatically, to speak it purely, and to write it with precision and elegance. The national history was studied; the memory of the great men who have illustrated it was recalled; their deeds were sung in the national language; and the Poles, to *patriotize* themselves, began to wear the ancient national costume. The Polish theatre was particularly protected by the king, nor was there a dearth of good dramatic authors, such as the Prince Adam Czartoryski, Zablocki, Kniazin, Niemcewicz,* and Osinski; nor of good actors, among whom Bogulawski (who moreover enriched the dramatic repertory with many pieces, original and translated) was especially distinguished. The Polish ladies, who have always been celebrated for their wit and amiability, rivalled each other in preaching patriotism, and no longer boasted of any thing but what was national.

* The Prince Adam Czartoryski, and the Count Niemcewicz, driven on the failure of the revolution of 1830 from their native land, where all they possessed had been seized and confiscated by the Russians, have long been in England, enjoying that hospitality which the land of the free and the generous of heart can extend to them. It is honourable to us as a nation, that two such truly distinguished individuals should have chosen their place of refuge among us. The count, though far advanced in years, and burdened by many sorrows, still preserves the wit and vivacity of youth. Long may he continue to live with us!

Good society reigned every where ; the assemblies were numerous and gay."

The cause of reason and humanity had certainly made great progress during the few latter years of the reign of Stanislaus Augustus, and, though it was not without the most violent opposition (fomented probably by foreign powers), the constitution of May 1791 was definitively adopted. The following were among the most important of the changes contemplated :

1. The throne was to be declared henceforth hereditary in families.
2. Ample privileges were accorded to free towns, and the burghers' deputies were admitted to seats in the Diet. These burgher deputies, moreover, at the end of their second year might be ennobled if they chose. In the army, every man, whatever might be his original condition, on obtaining the rank of captain, was declared noble. At each Diet, thirty *bourgeois* might be ennobled at the demand of the free towns.
3. Distinct courts of justice were established for the free peasants.
4. The *liberum veto*, the source of such incalculable evils, was for ever abolished.

The constitution of May, which contained numerous other articles in the same spirit as the above-mentioned, and scarcely less important, united a variety of opinions in its favour ; it was hailed as a pledge of Poland's hasty resurrection ; as a sacred chart where the rights of man were vindicated ; and in England the eloquence of Burke and Fox were exhausted in its praise—it was, indeed, an immense improvement on the past. Its evident tendency was to raise the *bourgeoisie* and to form that "*tiers état*," whose non-existence in Poland was the cause of half her disasters. On the passing of the articles which regarded the burghers, many of the more patriotic of the Polish nobles inscribed their names on the lists of citizens, and took up, what we should call their freedom in the different cities. But we must observe the abolition of the slavery of the cultivators of the soil is not even mentioned.†

Such as it was, the constitution of May would have regenerated Poland, had it been adopted some twenty years before ; and that unhappy country, strengthened by its results and gradual improvement, might have been in a condition to brave foreign intrigues and foreign arms in 1791. But it was unfortunate, to an anomaly, in its dates, for it came too early as well as too late ; and the well-meaning King of Poland, during the remainder of his life, never ceased to regret—to complain, that he had been forced by the impetuosity of his subjects, to grant the new constitution, at least two years before he had matured it—before circumstances were favourable for its reception. "Did they not know," said Stanislaus, reproachfully, "that by gathering the fruits of the earth while they were yet green, they would lose the harvest ? Am I to blame for the ill success of a measure whose

* Mémoires de Michel Ogiński sur la Pologne et les Polonais, depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815.

† In justice, however, we ought to attend to the following assertions of Ogiński : "There is no doubt whatever, that if this diet had not been forcibly interrupted and dissolved for ever, that the slavery of the peasants would have disappeared ; for the wisest measures had been taken in order to prepare for and gradually produce that crisis without occasioning any violent shock, or infringing the rights and property of the noble landholders."—See *Mémoires*, tom. i., p. 59.

adoption and date were precociously anticipated, and against my conviction and will?"

And here it is important to remember, what was indisputably the fact, that the constitution of May (essentially a revolution in itself) was hurried on by an imprudent spirit of imitation—that the effervescence of the French revolution had reached the Poles, and that the new and astounding crisis almost justified the neighbouring kings in the cry of jacobinism which they speedily raised against Poland. The sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, could not see without alarm, the rapid successes of the republican army, nor fail to be apprehensive of *every movement* that received its impulse from France; more especially at a moment, when throughout Europe, provinces and states were revolutionized either by French constraint or by their own spontaneous rising, and the *apanages* of royalty esteemed it a glory to be incorporated with the formidable democracy of France. We can enter into the feelings of Count Oginski, when he complains it is hard, that the very constitution of May, which had been strenuously opposed as placing too great power in the hands of the king, should immediately after be accused of jacobinism: we can believe with him, that the nation was free from the perilous taint, and admit his reasonings, that—

"In France, the clergy and the nobility were regarded as the enemies of the country. In Poland, on the contrary, the clergy and the nobility of themselves composed the nation, and *they* had endeavoured to form a constitution, which should ensure the individual liberty of each of them, and promote the happiness and tranquillity of the classes of society which had no part in their deliberations. In short, the Poles had shed no blood, had never attempted the life of their king; and the '*tiers état*', or middle classes, *which, properly speaking, had made the revolution in France, did not even exist in Poland.*" Still it remained matter of notoriety, that emissaries of the French Republic—those fanatic members of the "*propaganda fidei*" of a remorseless democracy—had been detected in Poland, where they disseminated by words, and by printed books and pamphlets, sentiments utterly subversive of all social order; and moreover, that a self-elected deputation of Poles then at Paris, presented themselves at the bar of the Convention, where they glorified in professing ultra-jacobin principles, and assured the French that the whole Polish nation shared their sentiments. They received the usual recompence. The Polish nobles were welcomed with the fraternal *accolade* of the democrats, and decreed the honour of seats at the august assembly.

To conclude our remarks on the constitution of May, we must add that it was madly precipitated, were we only to take into account the circumstances, that the king had neither time to recruit his army nor his exhausted finances; that the kingdom was insufficiently provided with arms, and that at the moment we speak of, the property of the Polish bankers and capitalists was chiefly locked up in the countries with which they provoked a war.*

We have just explained that the enfranchisement of the serfs was not effected by the constitution of May, which still continues to be the

* A general bankruptcy ensued, and this catastrophe accelerated the fate of Poland.

great boast of the Poles, and we must here make the important remark, that a tender of liberty to the people was only made in the last extremity. Indeed it was not until the insurrection of 1794, the proposed object of which was to establish the constitution of May, that the brave Kosciutsko, in arming the peasants with scythes and pikes (he had no better weapons to put in their hands), attempted to awaken their patriotism, and create a spirit, of which they were devoid, by presenting them with the flattering perspective of freedom. But this was later than the eleventh hour—it was far too late, to effect any great good! Men cannot pass at a step from the character of slaves to that of free men—a tardy invitation, and a promise, could not efface the degradation of ages, and the instruction of a few weeks could not remove the ignorance, the stupidity, and indifference of the Polish serfs, or even raise them to a clear comprehension of their rights as men, or their duties as citizens.

The result of the unequal struggle are matters of public history. Its bloody details, from which we shrink with horror, may be found in the Memoirs of Oginski, who fought with Kosciutsko. The final and entire partition was the catastrophe that might have been foreseen, and in 1794, the fate which Mr. Burke had augured for France, befel Poland—she was blotted out of the map of Europe.

After the murderous storming of Praga, and the surrender of Warsaw to the Russians, many of the Polish patriots, among whom was Count Oginski, retired to Venice, where the minister of the French Republic gave them countenance and protection. From the head of the Adriatic the emigrants found means of addressing and maintaining a correspondence with their friends in Poland; whilst another knot of refugees was formed at Paris, who busied themselves in soliciting the assistance of the French republic in favour of their country. The government of France had indeed promised, *on the faith of republicans*, to succour the Poles, and blandishments and fine words, that cost nothing, were lavished upon them. In April, 1795, the news of the treaty of Basle, between Prussia and France, dissipated the final delusion, and the Polish patriots learned with consternation that France had guaranteed to his Prussian majesty all the actual possessions of Prussia, in which his share of Poland was of course included. Oginski, whose faith in republican virtue was soon to be so shaken, had drawn up a remonstrance, in the name of his countrymen, the moment he heard of the negotiations which ended in the treaty of Basle. He represented to the French government how favourable was the opportunity for acting in behalf of the Poles, by imposing on the King of Prussia the condition that he should relinquish the acquisitions he had made in Poland, and co-operate with France in the re-establishment of that country, whose dismemberment had destroyed the political balance of Europe. Barrs, the Polish agent at Paris, “who,” says Oginski with curious simplicity, “found my observations very just, and shared my opinion;” made his representations to the members of the French government who more particularly favoured the cause of the Poles. The answer of the republican executive, which ought not to be forgotten, was, “that the condition proposed by the Polish emigrants could not be laid before the King of Prussia, because it would delay or stop the pending negotiations—

that France had as much need of peace as the King of Prussia, in order that she might heal her wounds and recruit her exhausted finances—that, however (it was added to console the suppliant patriots), the present peace with Prussia *could not last long*, and *then*, at the opening of another war, the French republicans would certainly wrest Poland from the grasp of its usurpers, if they did not even obtain by force the restoration of her national independence.

But the bubble was now burst. The Poles had to feel, how much an oppressed people might expect from foreign arms and interference, and from the faith of republicans; whilst many of the emigrant nobles, despoiled of every thing, had to experience in their own particular case, and with all the bitterness of the Italian exile,

Sì come sa di sale,

Lo pane altrui—e com'è duro cale

Lo scendere e salir per altrui scale.—*Dante.*

Like drowning men who catch at straws, the Poles now turned for help, from democratic France, to despotic Turkey—from the land where the millennium of liberality, of equality of rights, and of an emancipation from every prejudice, religious as well as political, was proclaimed, to that, where all such sentiments, could they ever have penetrated, would have been treated by the dreaming Turks as aberrations of the intellect. Oginski was named to this promising embassy by his brethren at Paris, who assumed the title of “Comité de salut public,” and having received long letters of instruction, addressed “*Au Citoyen, &c.*,” and signed by “Citizens” who were now without a country or a home, the active Pole prepared his departure for Constantinople towards the end of 1795. The French agents, at the head of whom was Lallemand, the minister at Venice, gave encouragement and advice to Oginski, and affected to hope that he would be able to prevail on the divan, at least, to grant an asylum to the Poles in Moldavia, whence, at the first rupture with the Muscovites, they might attempt the liberation of their own country. An English passport, under a feigned name, opened the way for the Polish envoy through the Italian peninsula, and after some narrow escapes from Russian spies and emissaries, who were permitted to exercise their functions in that country against the Polish refugees, he embarked at Leghorn for the Levant.

Oginski appeared at Constantinople with a cause infinitely more desperate than that of Charles XII., the guest or the captive of Bender; and this part of the narrative is almost a counterpart of the adventures of Poniatowski, and the other agents for the mad king of Sweden at the Turkish capital. Not being accredited in any official capacity, it was by no means easy to establish a political correspondence with the Ottoman ministers, who are never very accessible. But Oginski did at last obtain an interview with Prince Moruzi, first drogoman of the Porte, and the receptacle of nearly all the political knowledge of the empire.* The Pole was astonished at the Greek's information and various talents. Moruzi seemed as well acquainted with the state of

* Oginski was introduced to the Greek prince, whose brother was then Hospodar of Wallachia, by Verninac, the minister of the French republic.

parties and factions in Poland as he was himself. After adverting to the fatal disunion of the Poles, which had brought on the catastrophe, and to many other circumstances, particularly to that of the diet in 1791, having sent to the Porte, instead of an active and prudent minister, an ambassador who had employed a whole year in his journey from Warsaw to Constantinople, and who, when at his post, had disgusted the Turks by his pomp and insolence, and by the number and unruliness of his suite, Moruzi threw out some slight hopes, that in case of a division being made by Sweden against Russia, the Turks would begin hostilities, and then the Polish patriots might co-operate with effect. Moruzi, whose talents we have often heard mentioned with great respect at Constantinople, in the course of this curious conversation, when again adverting to the differences of opinions and views of the Poles, said, "*Barthélémy, Ministre de France à Bâle, a eu raison de dire, qu'il fallait tout faire pour les Polonais, sans les Polonais.*"*

When Oginski attempted to arouse the wary Greek by a startling picture of the threatening attitude of Russia, and her well-known views on Constantinople, Moruzi replied with calmness and a smile, "*Beaucoup d'eau s'écoulera dans le Danube avant que ces événemens sinistres peuvent être réalisés!*" (a great deal of water will flow in the Danube before these sinister projects can be realized). Oginski was obliged to promise that he would keep secret his interview with the drogoman of the Porte. But the secrets of the Polish diplomatist were not in his own keeping, for while thus engaged, the Russian minister at Constantinople received information of every step he took, and obtained copies of his letters and communications to the French and other agents. A Perote servant whom Oginski employed, repaired every morning and evening to the Russian legation, to give a report of his master's proceedings during the day. This circumstance Oginski had afterwards the satisfaction of learning from the mouth of the worthy individual himself.

Hopes so vague and distant as those which fell from the cautious drogoman could scarcely satisfy the ardent Poles, and Oginski again attempted to arm France in their favour. About this time (1796) the French had penetrated into the very heart of Italy, and were approaching the western frontiers of the Turkish empire. The eyes of the world were fixed on their youthful and astonishing leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, and to this rising star, Oginski, with many others whose fortunes were to be blighted rather than cherished by its influence, confidently turned himself. From Constantinople he addressed the following emphatic letter, which is highly characteristic of the times :

"TO THE CITIZEN BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.

"Citizen General,—If nothing were wanting to illustrate the glory of the French name by victories and conquests; if nothing else were required to render you worthy of the title of 'Defender,' and of 'a citizen who has merited well of his country;' and if your ambition, citizen general, were confined to the throwing of your enemy to the earth, and to the making yourself admired and respected throughout

* Barthélémy, the Minister of France, at Basle, was right in saying that every thing ought to be done for the Poles, *without* the Poles.

Europe, you might already terminate your exploits, and peruse in the shade of your laurels.

"Your career, as brilliant as perilous, would from this moment merit for you a distinguished place among those illustrious men of whose splendid deeds antiquity has transmitted us the memory; and you might find, in the bosom of your country and family, a sweet recompence for a hero who has fought only to ensure peace to Europe, and to consolidate the wellbeing, the glory, and the power of France.

"But there are still, citizen general, cares well worthy of you; your heart, which success has not rendered deaf to the cry of suffering humanity, groans, without doubt, at the mere recollection of so many unhappy men who still expect their salvation from France.

"Fifteen millions of Poles, once independent, now the victims of the force of circumstances, fix their eyes on you. They would fain pierce that barrier which separates them from you, to share your dangers, to crown you with new laurels, and to add to all the titles you have acquired, that of 'Father of the Oppressed.'

"Do not lose sight of the fact, citizen general, that this nation is rendered interesting by her misfortunes, and suffers only because she attempted to secure her own liberty and independence. You are one of those whose position ought to open to the Poles a way to shake off the odious and degrading yoke which they bear with impatience. You will find, as a French citizen, powerful motives for delivering them from oppression; and your patriotic zeal, seconded by your military talents, will triumph over every obstacle.

"No! As long as France exists, it shall not be said that the Poles were condemned to bear the chains of slavery! If the identity of sentiments, which draw the two nations to each other, did not guarantee this consoling certainty, would not the friendship and confidence we repose in the French obtain for us their fraternal attentions and their powerful support?

"Hasten, citizen general, to make known to the universe, that France considers her glory to consist in protecting the weak, and in assuring the happiness of all the people who claim her protection. Hasten to accomplish our hearts' desires and our hopes; re-establish the balance of power in Europe, in restoring liberty and independence to the nations that have been deprived of them; and so act, that from the centre of Italy to the sources of the Borysthenes, *the people*, repossessed of their rights, may cherish in you the friend of humanity, and respect the conquering warrior!"

Such was the language of emphasis and pedantry that was mistaken by many, at the end of the eighteenth century, for antique energy and republican simplicity. Oginski lived to blush at his having used it.* As

* He adds in a note, "The republican and emphatic style of this letter will surprise no one acquainted with the style of those times, and with the desperate position of the Poles, who could expect help only from France. I avow that, in 1796, I partook in the general enthusiasm for Bonaparte, which was inspired by the military talents of that chief of the army of Italy—talents which even his enemies cannot dispute. My enthusiasm, and still more my hopes, diminished when he made himself consul for life; and they abandoned me altogether when he proclaimed himself Emperor of the French."—See *Mémoires*.

for Bonaparte, he resorted to the same style both in speaking and writing, and even down to a much later period; but he used it merely as a sort of freemasonry pass or token with those with whom it was current, and whose confidence and goodwill he was anxious to cultivate. The romance of that extraordinary man never seems to have extended beyond an anomalous admiration of the vague and vapoury Ossian; and nothing could well be less romantic than his reply to the Polish patriot's highflown address. This answer was a verbal one, and conveyed to Oginski by Sulkowsky, an aide-de-camp of Bonaparte, who was sent on a mission to Constantinople, and who was afterwards killed in Egypt. "What can I promise?" said Bonaparte thoughtfully, after perusing the epistle. "Tell your countryman that I love and esteem the Poles. That the partition of Poland is an act of iniquity which cannot be long endured; that, after having terminated the war in Italy, I will go myself, at the head of my brave troops, and force Russia to give up Poland; *but, tell them also, that the Poles must not rely too much upon foreign assistance; that they must take up arms; annoy the Russians by every means in their power; and keep up communications with the disaffected in the interior.* All the fine words which are told them at Constantinople will come to nothing; I am acquainted with the diplomatic jargon and the indolence of the Turks. A nation oppressed by its neighbours can raise itself only by its own arms."

The Turks, of course, did nothing for the Poles, and their hopes were concentrated in the French; but when *they*, who were to carry their victorious arms beyond the Vistula, signed the treaty of peace of Campo-Formio, without even a mention of Poland, the last particle of those hopes might have died within them. A vast number of his companions satisfied themselves with commands in Bonaparte's army; but Oginski had other views and feelings; and seeing no prospect of being useful to his country by continuing a wanderer, he turned his thoughts towards home. His wife's connexions and interest procured the King of Prussia's leave for him and his family to reside in Prussian Poland.

He had closed his political correspondence, convinced that henceforth it could only endanger himself and others, and he lived tranquilly under the Prussian government until 1802, when the young Emperor Alexander was graciously pleased to permit his passing the Russian frontier as a Lithuanian subject of Russia; and after taking the oath of allegiance at Grodno, Count Oginski went on to St. Petersburg, where he certainly obtained greater benefits for his country than he would have done elsewhere. But it was at Minsk,* in White Russia, and not at St. Petersburg, that the noble Pole was first presented to the Emperor Alexander, who, from that moment, became the object of his admiration, affection, and respect. Few men have been more

* A ball was given to the emperor while at Minsk. He danced with all the ladies who were presented to him, and, in the course of the evening, made the following remark, which honours his head and his heart, to Count Oginski: "I see, with the greatest pleasure, that prejudices begin to disappear, even in this country, and that citizens' wives and daughters are admitted into the assemblies with ladies of the highest nobility. In my German provinces—in Livonia and Courland, the custom has long existed; but here it is an agreeable surprise," &c. —Vol. ii., p. 330.

enthusiastically praised, and more bitterly blamed, during their lifetime, than Alexander. Some few years are now past since he met his premature end on the shores of the Black Sea; and hate, out-living love, is still busy with his name. For ourselves, we believe the character drawn by Oginski to be mainly correct, notwithstanding the calumnies of his opponents, the horrid insinuations of Bonaparte, and the feelings of jealousy which his interference in the affairs of other countries of late years roused against him. "Tender-hearted, pleasing, accomplished, and well-disposed; a certain weakness and indecision in the earlier, a glare of vanity, and a tinge of mysticism in the latter years of his life, led him into errors with regard to foreign politics; but as a sovereign of Russia, his memory will remain in high honour among his people, and he will ever be esteemed as one of the greatest benefactors of his country."

"But," says the warm-hearted Polish noble, "besides all that I owed the Emperor Alexander personally, I was indebted to him, as a Pole, for the protection he granted to my countrymen, the generous confidence he reposed in them, the *encouragement of national education* in Poland, and, lastly, the revival of my country's name among the states of Europe."

Uninstructed by the past, and still unacquainted with the character of the French or Bonaparte, the Poles again reposed their hopes in them, when they carried their arms into Prussia, and struck a fatal blow, at Jena. Oginski was then at Wilna, and had opportunities of seeing the manœuvres of the French agents, who scattered themselves about Russian-Poland, exciting the people to rise against the Emperor Alexander, and announcing the arrival of Kosciutsko in the van of Bonaparte's army. Kosciutsko had, indeed, been invited by Napoleon to follow him in this campaign; but the Polish patriot, who *did know* his man, excused himself on the plea of bad health. Oginski attempted, but with indifferent success, to stem the popular torrent, which ran very generally in favour of the French. "By my opinions," says he, "I offended many of my countrymen, who swore only by Napoleon; and yet a few days justified my assertions. It is true, many persons in the society of Wilna thought as I did, and supported their opinions, by the coldness and distance Kosciutsko had openly shown to all the promises of Napoleon; still, however, there is no doubt that twelve thousand inhabitants of Wolhynia and Lithuania crossed the frontier to join the Polish legions; and if the French army had passed the Niemen to penetrate into Lithuania, it is probable, that all capable of bearing arms, would have readily joined it." It will immediately be seen what would have been their fate had they done so.

When Napoleon arrived at Posen the enthusiasm of the Poles was at its height; but the thirty-seventh bulletin, issued from his headquarters, was not calculated to indulge it. This bulletin, "remarkable for that oracular language which he often assumed for the purpose of veiling his designs," was a needless mystification. "Shall the throne of Poland be restored; shall this great nation start again into existence? God alone, who holds in his hands the threads of events, can resolve this great political problem; but certainly there never was a period—so important and so full of interest." But

Napoleon resolved the problem himself, and in a mode which never ought to be forgotten! He not only guaranteed to Alexander the share of Poland he already possessed, but, at their memorable meeting at Tilsit, offered to enlarge it by the addition of Warsaw and the whole of Prussian Poland. This *generous* offer was declined by Alexander, and it was then that Bonaparte formed the duchy of Warsaw, and gave it to the King of Saxony. "Although the partisans of Napoleon have thrown a doubt over this offer," says Oginski, in whom, as a man of honour in all circumstances, we are inclined to place great confidence, "still it is not the less true that the proposition was made; and of this I have since had the most authentic proofs under my own eyes. The district of Bialistok, a part of the Prusso-Polish provinces conquered, with a population of several hundred thousand inhabitants, was, however, given by Napoleon and accepted by Alexander. But this does not complete the iniquity, the infamy, of the French towards the Poles.

"The news of the treaty filled Wilna and the Polish provinces subjected to Russia with astonishment, and carried consternation into families, of which many individuals were compromised. Many young men, who with too great precipitation had quitted Lithuania and Wolhynia, to join the Polish army, had exposed their relations and friends left behind, to inquiries and persecutions. All those who only waited for the passing of the Niemen, by the armies under the orders of Napoleon, were disappointed. The treaty of Tilsit was regarded as the grave of all the hopes that had been conceived of the re-establishment of Poland; and from that period the confidence in Napoleon was considerably weakened throughout the provinces belonging to Russia. But it was yet worse, when after the treaty of Tilsit, the conferences at Erfurt brought the two emperors in closer contact, when ambassadors were reciprocally sent to Paris and Petersburg, they began to nourish those amicable relations, by communications which left to the two respective courts, nothing unrevealed, that might endanger the interior security of their states. Many of the inhabitants of Wolhynia and Lithuania, were then denounced to Russia by the very men (the insidious agents of France) who had instigated them to imprudent revolt! Happily for the Poles, the Emperor Alexander was not disposed to severity; but the more they appreciated his generous conduct, the less would they be disposed, should the case occur a second time, to be seduced by the agents of a government, [who sacrificed as victims, those of whom they no longer stood in need."*

During this war of 1806, which ended in a peace so inauspicious to her, Poland had suffered most severely. According to the Baron Uklanski, the French army preyed upon her very vitals, and the expenses of maintaining thirty thousand national troops, and answering to other incidental contributions, far exceeded the revenues of the unhappy country. "All the live stock, fell a prey to French requisitions; cows, oxen, sheep, geese, turkeys, and the very guinea-pigs, were devoured by them." Nor did the formation of the duchy of Warsaw entirely answer to the expectations and desires of that portion of the Poles who were thus withdrawn from the domination of Prussia. Still adhering to his old system, Napoleon

* Oginski, vol. ii., pp. 345, 346.

employed partisans and emissaries to cajole them with brighter hopes, that what he could not do now, should be done for them when circumstances favoured. Some important benefits were however conferred. The King of Saxony, his faithful ally, whom Bonaparte aggrandized with the Duchy of Warsaw, was the very prince who had been called by them to succeed to their throne, when by the constitution of May, 1791, the election of kings was abolished; and as such he was welcome to the Poles. The constitutional statute drawn up by a commission named by Bonaparte, and signed by him at Dresden on the 22d of July, 1807, contained the following clauses:

I. The religion of the state was declared to be the Roman catholic; but liberty of worship was guaranteed to all, and *all* were recognised as equal, in the eyes of the law.

The slavery of the peasants was abolished!

The dietines, combined after a new process, with departmental assemblies, elected a diet, which was divided into two chambers.

The king possessed the *initiative* in laws; the nomination of the senators, of the presidents of the dietines, and even of the presidents of the diets.

The king named also to all employments, civil and military.

The ministers formed a council of state; they could dissolve the diets; they appointed the judiciary order, and the judges exercised their functions for life.

It cannot be denied, that under this system important steps were made towards improvement, and towards the elevation of the long oppressed classes of the Poles to the dignity of men and citizens; and that good was operating in spite of many evils.

The Poles of the Duchy of Warsaw, had the satisfaction of being governed by a prince who merited their esteem and confidence; of seeing respectable citizens occupy the first posts of the state, and the brave Prince Joseph Poniatowski, at the head of the war department. But too soon did this new duchy (not sufficiently strong to oppose a barrier against Russia and Austria) feel all the weight of her new existence, in the obligation of supporting numerous troops, of contributing to the expenses of the civil list, which was excessively disproportionate to the extent or the population of the country; in being governed in civil matters by the King of Saxony, who was generally loved and esteemed, but whose circumscribed power could never resist the vexations of the military government of Napoleon; in being, in short, borne down, beneath a burden of taxes, which, after a short time, the landholders could not pay, without selling their estates, or giving them up to the administration of the public treasure."*

The Duchy of Warsaw, thus ruled by a prefect king, was eighteen hundred square leagues in extent, was divided into six departments—Posen, Kalisch, Plock, Warsaw, Lomza, and Bydgoszez, and contained a population amounting to about four millions of inhabitants.

The glorious measure of the emancipation of the serfs, which in the eyes of many, will atone for every other evil, was not however confined to the Duchy of Warsaw; its blessings extended to Prussian Poland, where indeed the Prussian government had for some time been as-

* Oginski, tom. ii., p. 347.

siduously employed in bettering the condition of the Polish people, and was on the eve of establishing a number of schools for their instruction, in each department, when Napoleon invaded Prussia. But, it must be remarked, that every political change, effected suddenly, and *à grand coups* (to which Bonaparte was somewhat too much addicted) is sure to carry with it, a dangerous disregard of individual rights, or principles that cannot be acted upon. Thus it happened with his abolition not only that of slavery, but of the task-work of the Polish serfs. "On my estates," complained the Baron Uklanski, "the peasants and colonists hold of me upwards of four thousand acres of arable land, for which they pay no rent, but as a compensation cultivate without wages the grounds which I farm myself; these *tenements* Bonaparte's constitution assigns them as their property, without allowing the least compensation to the lord, whom of course it robs of more than one-half of his possessions. Is not this glaring injustice? By this frenzied legislature I lose my best grounds, and am under the necessity of cultivating the remainder with hired people. The wages, moreover, owing to the thinness of the population, are twice as high in Poland as in Germany, &c."

The modifications, almost immediately and of necessity made to this order of things were—that the peasantry should not be held as proprietors, but tenants, who, as an equivalent for rent, should work three days in the week for their landlords. About thirteen English acres of ground were allotted to each married peasant, and, besides a cottage, his lord engaged to provide him with two or three cows, a few sheep or goats, a stock of poultry, &c. No longer serfs, they could not be sold with the estates, and at all times they were considered at liberty to transfer their labour elsewhere, and to resign the ground and stock of one master, for those of another. In this manner the nobles were not despoiled, but the aggrieved peasantry were manumitted, and a way prepared for their future improvement.

While these changes were in operation in the portions of Poland under French influence, Count Oginski* was living peacefully under the Russian government in Lithuania, where no changes of any im-

* In 1807 he travelled in Italy for his health. We shall follow him there, for the purpose of relating two or three anecdotes of Napoleon. The Pole arrived at Venice during Bonaparte's visit to that extraordinary city, and was presented, together with many other foreigners, to the conqueror. When his name was announced by one of the chamberlains, Napoleon cried in Italian, "Ah, bravo! it is a Pole!" After thanking Oginski for his visit, he said, "You are right to choose this country for your travels; I know the taste of the Poles for the fine arts, and no country can suit them better for this, than Italy." Now all this was urbane enough—but his mood changed.

"But are not these the decorations of the Polish order of the White Eagle?" inquired he hastily, looking at and even touching the insignia of the old national order, which Oginski wore; and without waiting for a reply, he added, "I am astonished that the Emperor Alexander should allow his subjects to wear it!" Oginski answered, that the emperor had not been inclined to deprive the Poles of this last remembrance of their political existence, and added, that Alexander uniformly endeavoured to please the Poles, to soften their misfortunes, and gain their affections. Napoleon frowned, and turning abruptly from him, thus addressed the Prince W——: "As for you, you are a Russian—you are right to travel in Italy and enjoy the sun, for that luminary is a stranger to your country." Many others present at this singular interview were treated with equal

portance took place, the condition of the peasantry remaining much as it had ever been, and perfectly assimilating itself to that of the Russian serfs. Oginski, at the invitation of Prince Kurakin, the Russian minister, went to Paris after the peace of Schönbrunn, where he saw the prefect-kings and their queens doing homage to the great umpire. He saw also at reviews the soldiers of France, Italy, Holland, Germany, Spain, and Portugal defiling before Napoleon; and also, how thoroughly the nationality of all was sacrificed to the views of one! The count returned to Wilna, and his noble countrymen having intrusted him with a memorial against some vexations of the local government of Lithuania, he repaired to Petersburg, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and promised redress. But Alexander had other subjects of deep interest in his mind. The frowning shadow of Napoleon was already approaching him, and he consulted with Oginski who was so recently from the French capital. The part of the conferences which more particularly regarded our subject, Poland, was, that the emperor warned Oginski and his countrymen, not to allow themselves to be deluded by Bonaparte's cajoleries; and his promise that he would render them a more substantial good, than ever Napoleon would do or contemplate. The count returned to Wilna, but not before receiving an imperial despatch, assenting to the demands of the Lithuanians, and his own appointment to be privy councillor and senator of Russia. The noble Pole then returned to Paris, where he had left his family. On his reappearance at the Tuileries, he was met by Napoleon with increased coldness. "*Vous êtes sénateur de Russie; mais vous êtes Polonais, n'est-ce pas?*" was his abrupt address, which he pronounced in a careless manner, and to which, as was his wont, he waited for no reply. Duroc was charged with the commission to feel the political pulse of Oginski, and in a curious conversation, he expressed his regret that he should have accepted place and dignity from Alexander, instead of attaching himself to Napoleon, who had ulterior views in favour of Poland. Oginski's replies were those of a loyal, spirited, and intelligent man. He had lost that hope which had so long cheered him, and as Poland could not be restored to her independence, he professed he could not see much difference between an inhabitant of the duchy of Warsaw under Napoleon, and a Lithuanian under Alexander—in short he regarded the Polish duchy as nothing but a French province, in spite of its semblance of a representative government. Duroc, who seems to have gone too far, for the purposes of his master, treated the idea of the re-establishment of Poland as an independent state, as a chimerical project, and a dream that could never be realized; and he founded his prophecy on the anarchy of the past.

It cannot be denied that Oginski did well in remaining attached to politeness. To an Italian nobleman, but lately a widower, he observed, "You are in mourning?—for your wife—she did well to die, for she was an *intrigante*." To a deputation of Venetian Jews, who had just contributed a million of livres towards the expenses of his reception, he said in a severe tone, "You are Jews, and you are on sufferance in my States, because I tolerate all religions; but take care—don't play the part of usurers; I don't like usurers; I have them hanged!" After this alarming expression of his antipathies, he again addressed Oginski. "It is singular that I meet these Jews wherever I go; but there are nowhere else so many as among you in Poland!"

the Emperor Alexander; but he gained little credit among his countrymen at Paris, who still saw, and in no remote perspective, the crown of reunited Poland restored to more than its ancient splendour by the sword of Napoleon. Indeed, at the time, through all the varnish of diplomacy and compliment, it was evident a rupture was preparing by France; and with this conviction Oginski hastened to give his sovereign the benefit of his advice. On his arrival at Petersburg in April, 1811, the count requested an audience of the emperor. He told Alexander what he thought of Bonaparte's projects. "I am entirely of your opinion," said the emperor, "except in the idea which you attribute to him, of wishing to crush Russia; for he must have good sense enough to know the impossibility of executing any such project." The emperor was well instructed from Paris of the preparations of Napoleon—he believed they were intended against him, though nobody at Petersburg thought so: he recommended a prudent silence, and thought it more advisable rather to await the attack of his rival, whose character he said he now thoroughly knew, than to anticipate him. At the same time he said that for several months he had been making his own military preparations.

The labours of Oginski, Lubecki, Lubomirski, Plater, and other Poles, engaged at Petersburg in drawing up the plan of a constitution, were interrupted by the march of Napoleon's hosts. Here it may be expedient to turn to the movements of that extraordinary man in Poland, to show how he behaved to those whom he had so often deceived already, and what the Poles had to expect from him.*

In the month of June, 1812, the deputies of the Polish diet waited on Bonaparte, then at Wilna, and their president told him in direct terms, that "the interests of his empire, as well as the honour of France, demanded the restoration of Poland." All of his reply that was not a mistification was this: "Were I a Pole, I should think and act as you do; but situated as I am, I have many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform. If your efforts be unanimous, you may hope to make your enemies acknowledge your rights; for in countries like these, so remote and extensive, it is only through the unanimous co-operation of the population that you can expect to

* This is De Pradt's account of the happy condition in which he found the duchy of Warsaw at the opening of the Russian campaign of 1812; and we have ground for believing there is little exaggeration in it:

"No functionary, civil or ecclesiastical, was paid. The army had all fled: we supported the troops as well as we could. The unhappy minister of finance sunk under the burden, and often had to blush at the expedients he was reduced to in order to cajole his victims; for what other name can be given to those who had the boldness to contract with him. Every day fresh supplies were demanded from the city for the country. The taxes were doubled, but nobody paid them. It was no use squeezing a dried-up and exhausted country! Our troops ran over the duchy in all directions, eating up and destroying, carrying away the peasants and their horses. Every thing was consumed, and our wants continued to increase daily. Private misery was equal to the public distress: the one always follows the other. I was confounded at the difference I found between the real state of Poland and the fancy picture that had been made to me of it: between the hopes that had been conceived and the sad realities that struck my eyes. I had scarcely arrived at Warsaw when all the enchantment vanished. I saw nothing but men ruined and groaning under their miseries."—*Histoire de l'Ambassade en Pologne.*

succeed. I held the same language to you when I first appeared among you; and I must now add, that I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, and therefore I cannot countenance any movement which might disturb his quiet possession of his present Polish territories."

Now this was all Napoleon would promise to the Poles, even at the moment when their services were required. They had hailed his war with Russia as the advent of their liberty; in the duchy of Warsaw their enthusiasm was unbounded; they fully expected to pass from their state of temporary probation to national independence and glory; they had convoked the general diet, in which the terms "the kingdom of Poland," "the body of the Polish nation," were pronounced with peculiar emphasis; and under the protecting smiles of Bonaparte's own ambassador. M. de Pradt affirms that such language was the result of a formal injunction in his instructions. Had the Duke de Bassano, the minister of foreign affairs, exceeded his orders? had he mistaken his master's sense, and given too great a latitude to the political aspirations of the Poles, or had Napoleon changed his mind after crossing the Niemen? But we scarcely need prosecute the inquiry, having given the conqueror's evasive reply to the deputation of the diet, which cooled the ardour of the Warsawians, and contributed still more to check the Lithuanians, even had they ever been inclined to favour the French with the hopes of freeing themselves from the Russians. Indeed, so far as regards the Lithuanians, the measures adopted were not of a nature to conciliate them; and this probably arose from the weak hopes that Napoleon entertained of being able to revolutionize a country which had been so many years in the peaceful possession of Russia, that an identification of feelings and interests might have ensued to a considerable extent. Before crossing the Niemen, in his order of the day, Napoleon had told his soldiers they were about to enter the enemy's country; and certainly their march in Lithuania proved they came not as friends! "A number of villages were burned to the ground, several noblemen's chateaux were pillaged, provisions and forage forcibly carried off; the corn, still green, was cut for forage; the fields and meadows were devastated; the women were insulted; the Lithuanian peasants maltreated."

Notwithstanding the shameful licence of the French army, they were not generally ill received; and if the cause of Napoleon did not gain many converts among the magnates of the land, and persons of weight and experience, he had no occasion to complain of a dearth of hairbrained youths—of the enthusiastic, the inexperienced, the idle, the dissolute. At Minsk, he was received with some demonstrations of joy, because his officers, of their own accord, or by his advice, had proclaimed the speedy re-establishment of the great ancient Polish kingdom. At Wilna, more than three hundred students of the university left their books, and followed him; here also several nobles of the highest families volunteered their services. Still, however, there reigned a mutual coldness and diffidence between Napoleon and the mass of the Lithuanian nobility; and that man of headlong volition, who had done nothing, who had promised nothing, who had declared Poland to be an enemy's country, while his troops had

treated it as such, was surprised and exasperated because the Lithuanians did not rise *en masse* and proclaim their independence.

The provinces of Podolia and Volhynia, though remote, were important: they remained perfectly quiet, and in fact Lithuania, with the slight exceptions we have mentioned, may be said to have awaited passively the events of that ever memorable campaign, at the termination of which it tranquilly relapsed under the dominion of Russia. The fate of the duchy of Warsaw, where feelings had been so differently excited, was for some time less fortunate. That confined and impoverished state had raised and supported eighty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, and when, after the disastrous affair of the Berezina, Bonaparte reappeared at Warsaw as a fugitive, followed by the disorganized fragments of an annihilated army, and the Russians and Cossacks in his rear, the duchy was called upon for fresh efforts and sacrifices. In his forward march, Napoleon, like a mighty torrent, had carried every thing with him: according to M. de Pradt, he did not leave more than twelve hundred effective men behind him in the duchy; there were not four hundred men in Warsaw, the capital, which was threatened as early as the middle of July, by a Russian corps commanded by General Tormassow. Continual efforts had been in operation ever since the month of May, when Napoleon, travelling to the seat of war, had boasted, in the pride and confidence of his heart, to his applauding Préfet at Metz, that he was going to mount all Poland on horseback; but M. de Pradt, and his other agents and partisans, whether Polish or French, found the country utterly exhausted; nor could they animate the suffering people, or the beggared nobility, even when every day brought the bulletin of a victory, or of some signal success over the Russians. Certain facts were evident, but Napoleon wilfully shut his eyes to them; and it had long been the practice of all those about him to see only what he saw, and to see it in the same manner.

At the commencement of the campaign, public and private misery were at their height, in the duchy of Warsaw; the army it maintained surpassed its means of support; the taxes, enormous as they were, did not suffice for the needs of the state—the army, though it absorbed every thing, was still ill provided; the civil officers of the government were never paid. The continental system which had been enforced for some years—and here Napoleon found one of his grand theories working against himself!—had interrupted the commerce of the country and its exports of grain; and had reduced even the greatest landholders to mendicity.

“Every thing has its price,” says M. de Pradt, who saw what the Poles were paying to Bonaparte for vague promises and hopes. “The Poles would willingly have seen the restoration of their country, but they would not acquire it by devastation and absolute ruin. How, indeed, could one for a moment imagine, that a great mass of men should joyfully deprive themselves of all they are worth, to procure a change in a government, under which moreover they had been prospering?”

When the fugitive Napoleon, on his passage through Warsaw, said, “The duchy must raise ten thousand Polish Cossacks; a lance and a horse will be enough; they will stop the Russians with that;”

his words, if not excused as insanity, must have been taken as a mockery and an insult. It was scarcely wiser or more considerate in the council of government, a few days after, to decree a levy of from twelve to fifteen thousand irregular horse, and the calling out the *arrière-ban*.

The Poles could not do what was required of them, but they might have asked, where were the eighty thousand of their brethren who had marched to Russia under the banners of Bonaparte; how they and their families should be supported during the horrors of winter, in a country so thoroughly despoiled; how they should make head against the Russians, before whom a confederate army of four hundred thousand men had melted like snow?

On the 7th of February, 1813, the Russians took possession of Warsaw. The grand-ducal administration was dissolved, and a council formed *pro tempore*. This council was composed of Russians and Poles, who continued their functions till the conclusion of the war.

Of the benefits projected, and those conferred on the Poles as a nation by Napoleon, we have seen more than enough; we may leave them to the enjoyment of their gratitude! But if Napoleon had never had the intention of realizing their dreams of national independence, or if he had been foiled by Russia, and disappointed in the Polish people; still it might be expected, he would testify his affection and regard to the gallant Polish troops, who did not desert him in his reverses, who were faithful and brave to the last. He however was scarcely capable of this; for when the Poles, seeing him safe to the banks of the Rhine, and the frontiers of France, thought of returning home, he coldly told their officers they might do as they chose "he had no fault to find with them; they had behaved loyally to him. But whither could they go? Their king, perhaps, had not an asylum for himself. They were at liberty to go home, if such was their intention: two or three thousand men more or less, brave as they were, could be nothing to him. But if they left him, he should have no right to speak for them or for Poland. He was still the most powerful monarch in Europe! Things might change, and if even he were obliged to give them up, they should be mentioned in the next treaty of peace, &c.

In May, 1815, the fate of Poland was once more decided for a time. By the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, the King of Saxony having signed a formal renunciation of that country, the duchy of Warsaw was annexed to the Russian crown, with the exception of the province of Posen, which was restored to Prussia, from whom it had been wrested by Bonaparte. Austria retained Gallitzia, with the salt mines of Wieliczka. The city of Cracow was declared independent. The Emperor of Russia was to take the title of "King of Poland."

On the 20th of June, 1815, discharges of artillery at Warsaw announced the re-establishment of the kingdom, and the Emperor Alexander's conciliatory proclamation to the inhabitants of the duchy was read. "Poles," said he, "new ties will thus bind you still closer to a generous nation, which is of kindred origin, of the same great Slavonian race as your own, and by old connexions worthy of you. A wise constitution and an enduring union will attach you to the fortunes of a great monarchy, too vast to need aggrandizement, and

whose government will never entertain other political rules, than those of impartial justice and of generous ideas. We could not, however, in endeavouring to replace this new link in the chain of European states, consult the interests of Poland alone. We could not favour certain local details appropriated merely to that country, which might not have harmonized with the general interests and the balance of Europe.*

On the 1st of December, 1815, the Emperor Alexander signed at Warsaw the promised constitutional charter for the kingdom of Poland. The Polish general Zaionczek was named viceroy, with the title of highness. A ministry, composed entirely of Poles, had been already appointed; and lastly an order was given that all the Russian troops should evacuate the new kingdom.

We do not know what degree of hope the Poles may have entertained as to the fulfilment of what they state was a positive promise on the part of Alexander, viz., that the Lithuanian provinces should be incorporated with those of the duchy of Warsaw, into one kingdom; but we have seen that in all these transactions, such a circumstance is not even alluded to. The veteran patriot, Kosciutzko by letter reminded the emperor of this great omission.

"One cause of inquietude alone, checks my joy at the benefits conferred by your majesty on the Poles. I was born a Lithuanian, sire, and I have now but a few years to live; still a veil of uncertainty darkens the fate of my country, and of many other provinces of Poland. I have not forgotten the magnanimous promises which your majesty has given to me and to others of my countrymen upon this point; I do not pretend to hasten the execution of your projects, but I wish to be reassured; one word from you, sire, and I devote the whole remainder of my existence to the service of your imperial and royal majesty. I shall then be sure that all your Polish subjects will have reason to bless you for the benefits you will have conferred on them."

To this letter, it appears that Alexander never replied: and he must have felt pain had he undertaken to show to the single-hearted Polish patriot, how opposed were the interests of Austria and Prussia, the views of his own cabinet, and the whole spirit of Russian diplomacy, to the aspirations of Kosciutzko and his friends.

This melancholy subject is no further connected with Napoleon. It will be well, however, to set down two or three leading facts in relation to the fate of the Poles. The Emperor Alexander, in part

* On the 30th of April, the Emperor Alexander had addressed the following letter, the precursor of the proclamation, to Count Ostrowski, the President of the Polish Senate: "It is with peculiar satisfaction I announce to you that the fate of your country has finally been decided, by the unanimous agreement of the powers assembled in congress. In taking the title of *King of Poland*, I have desired to satisfy the wishes of the nation. The kingdom of Poland will be united to the empire of Russia, by the titles of its own constitution, on which I desire to found the happiness of the country. If the great interest of general repose has not permitted that all the Poles should be reunited under the same sceptre, I have endeavoured at least to soften as much as possible, the rigour of their separation, and to obtain for them every where, all possible enjoyment of their nationality."

through want of inclination, but much more through want of power, did not keep half of the promises he had made to the Polish nation. The constitution he granted scarcely merited the name of one. Still, however, as long as he lived, few overt acts of tyranny occurred in the country, the condition of which rapidly improved; but after his sudden and somewhat mysterious death on the shores of the Black Sea in 1825, the state of affairs was materially changed; the Russians excelled in tyranny and oppression, and the Archduke Constantine, who was nominally only commander-in-chief of the forces, rendered himself so odious to the Poles that a party in Warsaw rose against him in November, 1830, and attempted to assassinate him. The archduke escaped with his life: a most sanguinary warfare ensued, and after an heroic struggle for their independence, Warsaw was retaken by the Russians, and the unhappy Poles were again forced to submit to the yoke which has been made more heavy and more galling than ever.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXII.

1813.

Riots in Hamburg and Lubeck—Attempted suicide of M. Konning—Evacuation of Hamburg—Dissatisfaction at the conduct of General Saint Cyr—The cabinets of Vienna and the Tuileries—First appearance of the Cossacks—Colonel Tettenborn invited to occupy Hamburg—Cordial reception of the Russians—Depredations—Levies of troops—Testimonials of gratitude to Tettenborn—Napoleon's new army—Death of General Morand—Remarks of Napoleon on Vandamme—Bonaparte and Gustavus Adolphus—Junction of the corps of Davoust and Vandamme—Reoccupation of Hamburg by the French—General Hogendorff appointed governor of Hamburg—Exactions and vexatious contributions levied upon Hamburg and Lubeck—Hostages.

A CONSIDERABLE time before Napoleon left Paris to join the army, the bulk of which was in Saxony, partial insurrections occurred in many places. The interior of old France was indeed still in a state of tranquillity, but it was not so in the provinces annexed by force to the extremities of the empire, especially in the north, and in the unfortunate Hanse Towns, for which, since my residence at Hamburg, I have always felt the greatest interest. The intelligence I received was derived from such unquestionable sources, that I can pledge myself for the truth of what I have to state respecting the events which occurred in those provinces at the commencement of 1813; and subsequently, I obtained a confirmation of all the facts communicated by my correspondents, when I was sent to Hamburg by Louis XVIII., in 1815.

M. Steuve, agent from the court of Russia, who lived at Altona, apparently as a private individual, profited by the irritation produced by the measures adopted at Hamburg. His plans were so well arranged, that he was promptly informed of the route of the grand army from Moscow, and the approach of the allied troops. Aided by the knowledge and activity of Sieur Hanft, of Hamburg, M. Steuve profited by the discontent of a people so tyrannically governed, and seized the opportunity for producing an explosion. Between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th of February, 1813, an occurrence, in which the people were concerned, was the signal for a revolt. An in-

dividual returning to Hamburg by the Altona gate, would not submit to be searched by a fiscal agent, who, in consequence, maltreated him, and wounded him severely. The populace instantly rose, drove away the revenue guard, and set fire to the guard-house. The people also, excited by secret agents, attacked other French posts, where they committed the same excesses. Surprised at this unexpected movement, the French authorities retired to the houses in which they resided. All the respectable inhabitants who were unconnected with the tumult, likewise returned to their homes, and no person appeared out of doors.

General Carra Saint Cyr had the command of Hamburg, after Prince Eckmuhl's departure for the Russian campaign. At the first news of the revolt, he set about packing up his papers; and Count de Chaban, M. Konning, the prefect of Hamburg, and M. Daubignose, the director of police, followed his example. It was not till about four o'clock in the afternoon that a detachment of Danish hussars arrived at Hamburg, and the populace was then speedily dispersed. All the respectable citizens and men of property assembled the next morning, and adopted means for securing internal tranquillity, so that the Danish troops were enabled to return to Altona. Search was then made for the ringleaders of the disturbance. Many persons were arrested, and a military commission, *ad hoc*, was appointed to try them. The commission, however, condemned only one individual, who, being convicted of being one of the most active rioters, was sentenced to be shot; and the sentence was carried into execution.

On the 26th of February, a similar commotion took place at Lubeck. Attempts were made to attack the French authorities. The respectable citizens instantly assembled, protected them against outrage, and escorted them in safety to Hamburg, where they arrived on the 27th. The precipitate flight of these persons from Lubeck spread some alarm in Hamburg. The danger was supposed to be greater than it was, because the fugitives were accompanied by a formidable body of troops.

But these were not the only attempts to throw off the yoke of French domination, which had become insupportable. All the left bank of the Elbe was immediately in a state of insurrection, and all the official persons took refuge in Hamburg. During these partial insurrections every thing was neglected. Indecision, weakness, and cupidity were manifested every where. Instead of endeavours to sooth the minds of the people, which had been long exasperated by intolerable tyranny, recourse was had to rigorous measures. The prisons were crowded with a host of persons declared to be suspected, upon the mere representations of the agents of the police. On the 3d of March, a special military commission condemned six householders of Hamburg, and its neighbourhood, to be shot on the glaciis, for no other offence than having been led, either by chance or curiosity, to a

part of the town which was the scene of one of the riots. These executions excited equal horror and indignation, and General Carra Saint Cyr was obliged to issue a proclamation for the dissolution of the military commission by whom the men had been sentenced.

The intelligence of the march of the Russian and Prussian troops, who were descending the Elbe, increased the prevailing agitation in Westphalia, Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, and all the French troops cantoned between Berlin and Hamburg, including those who occupied the coast of the Baltic, fell back upon Hamburg. General Carra Saint Cyr, and Baron Konning, the prefect of Hamburg, used to go every evening to Altona. The latter, worn out by anxiety and his unsettled state of life, lost his reason; and on his way to Hamburg, on the 5th of May, he attempted to cut his throat with a razor. His valet-de-chambre saved his life by rushing upon him before he had time to execute his design. It was given out that he had broken a blood-vessel, and he was conveyed to Altona, where his wound was cured, and he subsequently recovered from his derangement. M. Konning, who was a native of Holland, was a worthy man, but possessed no decision of character, and but little ability.

At this juncture, exaggerated reports were circulated respecting the approach of a Russian corps. A retreat was immediately ordered, and it was executed on the 12th of March. General Carra Saint Cyr having no money for the troops, helped himself to a hundred thousand francs out of the municipal treasury. He left Hamburg at the head of the troops, and enrolled men of the custom-house service. He was escorted by the town guard, which protected him from the insults of the populace; and the good people of Hamburg never had any visitors of whom they were more happy to be rid. Such is a true statement of the facts which came to my knowledge. This sudden retreat excited Napoleon's indignation. He accused General Saint Cyr of pusillanimity, in an article inserted in the *Moniteur*, and afterwards copied by his order into all the journals. In fact, had General Saint Cyr been better informed, or less easily alarmed, he might have kept Hamburg, and prevented its temporary occupation by the enemy, to dislodge whom it was necessary to besiege the city two months afterwards. Saint Cyr had three thousand regular troops, and a considerable body of men in the custom-house service. General Morand could have furnished him with five thousand men from Mecklenburg. He might, therefore, not only have kept possession of Hamburg two months longer, but even to the end of the war, as General Lemarrois retained possession of Magdeburg. Had not General Saint Cyr so hastily evacuated the Elbe, he would have been promptly aided by the corps which General Vandamme soon brought from the Wesel, and afterwards by the corps with which Marshal Davoust entered Hamburg.

The events just described occurred before Napoleon quitted Paris. In the month of August all negotiation was broken off with Austria, though that power, still adhering to her fallacious policy, continued to protest fidelity to the cause of the Emperor Napoleon, until the moment when her preparations were completed, and her resolution formed. But if there was duplicity at Vienna, was there not folly, nay blindness, in the cabinet of the Tuileries? Could we reasonably rely upon Austria? She had seen the Russian army pass the Vistula, and advance as far as the Saale, without offering any remonstrance. At that moment a single movement of her troops, a word of declaration, would have prevented every thing. As, therefore, she would not avert the evil when she might have done so with certainty and safety, there must have been singular folly and blindness in the cabinet who saw this conduct and did not understand it.

I now proceed to mention the further misfortunes which occurred in the north of Germany, and particularly at Hamburg. At fifteen leagues east of Hamburg, but within its territory, is a village named Bergdorff. It was in that village that the Cossacks were first seen. Twelve or fifteen hundred of them arrived there under the command of Colonel Tettenborn. But for the retreat of the French troops amounting to three thousand, exclusive of men in the custom-house service, no attempt would have been made upon Hamburg; but the very name of the Cossacks inspired a degree of terror which must be fresh in the recollection of every one. Alarm spread in Hamburg, which being destitute of troops and artillery, and surrounded with dilapidated fortifications, could offer no defence. The senator Barch and Doctor Know took upon themselves to proceed to Bergdorff, to solicit Colonel Tettenborn to take possession of Hamburg, observing, that they felt assured of his sentiments of moderation, and that they trusted they would grant protection to a city which had immense commercial relations with Russia. Tettenborn did not place reliance on these propositions, because he could not suppose that there had been such a precipitate evacuation; he thought they were merely a snare to entrap him, and refused to accede to them. But a Doctor Von Hess, a Swede, settled in Hamburg some years, and known to Tettenborn as a decided partisan of England and Russia, persuaded the Russian commander to comply with the wishes of the citizens of Hamburg. However Tettenborn consented only on the following conditions: That the old government should be instantly re-established; that a deputation of senators in their old costume should invite him to take possession of Hamburg, which he would enter only as a free and imperial Hanse Town;—that if those conditions were not complied with, he would regard Hamburg as a French town, and consequently hostile. Notwithstanding the real satisfaction with which the senators of Hamburg received those propositions, they were restrained by the fear of a reverse of fortune. They,

however, determined to accept them, thinking that whatever might happen, they could screen themselves by alleging that necessity had driven them to the step they took. They therefore declared their compliance with the conditions, and that night and the following day were occupied in assembling the senate, which had been so long dissolved, and in making the preparations which Tettenborn required.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th of March, a picket of Cossacks, consisting of only forty men, took possession of a town recently flourishing, and containing a population of 120,000, but ruined and reduced to 80,000 inhabitants, by the blessing of being united to the French empire. On the following day, the 18th, Colonel Tettenborn entered Hamburg at the head of a thousand regular and two hundred irregular Cossacks. I have described the military situation of Hamburg when it was evacuated on the 12th of March, and Napoleon's displeasure may be easily conceived. Tettenborn was received with all the honours usually bestowed upon a conqueror. Enthusiasm was almost universal. For several nights the people devoted themselves to rejoicing. The Cossacks were gorged with provisions and drink, and were not a little astonished at the handsome reception they experienced.

It was not until the expiration of three or four days that the people began to perceive the small number of the allied troops. Their amount gradually diminished. On the day after the arrival of the Cossacks, a detachment was sent to Lubeck, where they were received with the same honours as at Hamburg. Other detachments were sent upon different places, and after four days' occupation there remained in Hamburg only seventy out of the twelve hundred Cossacks who had entered on the 18th of March.

The first thing their commander did, was to take possession of the post-office, and the treasuries of the different public offices. All the moveable effects of the French government and its agents were seized and sold. The officers evinced a true Cossack disregard of the rights of private property. Counts Huhn, Bussenitz, and Venechtern, who had joined Tettenborn's staff, rendered themselves conspicuous by plundering the property of M. Peyronnier, the director of the customs, and M. Gonse, the post-master, and not a bottle of wine was left in their cellars. Tettenborn laid hands upon a sum of money, consisting of upwards of 4000 louis in gold, belonging to M. Gonse, which had been lodged with M. Schwartz, a respectable banker in Hamburg, who filled the office of Prussian consul. M. Schwartz, with whom this money had been deposited for the sake of security, had also the care of some valuable jewels belonging to Mesdames Carra Saint Cyr, and Daubignose; Tettenborn carried off these as well as the money. M. Schwartz remonstrated in his character of Prussian consul, Prussia being the ally of

Russia; but he was considered merely as a banker, and could obtain no redress. Tettenborn, like most of the Cossack chiefs, was nothing but a robber and an executioner; but the agent of Russia was M. Steuve, whose name I have already mentioned.

Orders were speedily given for a levy of troops, both infantry and cavalry, to be called Hanseatic volunteers. A man named Hanft, who had formerly been a butcher, raised at his own expense, a company of foot and one of lancers, of which he took the command. This undertaking, which cost him a hundred and thirty thousand francs, may afford some idea of the attachment of the people of Hamburg to the French government. But money, as well as men, was wanting, and a heavy contribution was imposed to defray the expense of enrolling a number of workmen out of employment, and idlers of various kinds. Voluntary donations were solicited, and enthusiasm was so general, that even servant-maids gave their mites. The sums thus collected were paid into the chest of Tettenborn's staff, and became a prey to dishonest appropriation. With respect to this money, a Sieur Oswald was accused of not having acted with the scrupulous delicacy which Madame de Staël attributes to his namesake in her romance of *Corinne*.

Between eight and ten thousand men were levied in the Hanse Towns and their environs, the population of which had been so greatly reduced within two years. These undisciplined troops, who had been for the most part levied from the lowest classes of society, committed so many outrages that they soon obtained the surname of the *Cossacks of the Elbe*; and certainly they well deserved it.

Such was the hatred which the French government had inspired in Hamburg that the occupation of Tettenborn was looked upon as a deliverance. On the colonel's departure the senate, anxious to give him a testimonial of gratitude, presented him with the freedom of the city, accompanied by five thousand gold Fredericks, with which he was doubtless much more gratified than with the honour of the citizenship.

The restored senate of Hamburg did not long survive. The people of the Hanse Towns learned, with no small alarm, that the emperor was making immense preparations to fall upon Germany, where his lieutenants could not fail to take cruel revenge on those who had disavowed his authority. Before he quitted Paris on the 15th of April, Napoleon had enrolled under the banners of the army one hundred and eighty thousand men, exclusive of the guards of honour, and it was evident that with such a force he might venture on a great game, and probably win it. Yet the month of April passed away without the occurrence of any event important to the Hanse Towns, the inhabitants of which vacillated between hope and fear. Attacks daily took place between parties of Russian and French troops on the territory between Lunenburg and Bremen. In one of these ren-

counters General Morand was mortally wounded, and was conveyed to Lunenburg. His brother having been taken prisoner in the same engagement, Tettenborn, into whose hands he had fallen, gave him leave on parole, to visit the general; but he arrived in Lunenburg only in time to see him die.

The French having advanced as far as Haaburg, took up their position on the Schwartzenberg, which commands that little town, and the considerable island situated in that part of the river between Haaburg and Hamburg. Being masters of this elevated point, they began to threaten Hamburg, and to attack Haaburg. These attacks were directed by Vandamme, of all our generals the most redoubtable in conquered countries. He was a native of Cassel, in Flanders, and had acquired a high reputation for severity. At the very time when he was attacking Hamburg, Napoleon said of him at Dresden, "If I were to lose Vandamme, I know not what I would give to have him back again; but if I had two such generals I should be obliged to shoot one of them." It must be confessed that one was quite enough.

As soon as he arrived, Vandamme sent to inform Tettenborn, that if he did not immediately liberate the brother and brother-in-law of Morand, both of whom were his prisoners, he would burn Hamburg. Tettenborn replied, that if he resorted to that extremity, he would hang them both on the top of St. Michael's Tower, where he might have a view of them. This energetic answer obliged Vandamme to restrain his fury, or at least to direct it to other objects.

Meanwhile the French forces daily augmented at Haaburg. Vandamme, profiting by the negligence of the new Hanseatic troops, who had the defence of the great islands of the Elbe, attacked them one night in the month of May. This happened to be the very night after the battle of Lutzen, where both sides claimed the victory, and *Te Deum* was sung in the two hostile camps. The advance of the French turned the balance of opinion in favour of Napoleon, who was in fact really the conqueror on a field of battle, celebrated nearly two centuries before by the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. The *Cossacks of the Elbe* could not sustain the shock of the French; Vandamme repulsed the troops who defended Wilhelmsburg, the largest of the two islands, and easily took possession of the smaller one, Fidden, of which the point nearest the right bank of the Elbe is not half a gun-shot distant from Hamburg. The 9th of May was a fatal day to the people of Hamburg. For it was then that Davoust, having formed his junction with Vandamme, appeared at the head of a corps of forty thousand men, destined to reinforce Napoleon's grand army. Hamburg could not hold out against the considerable French force now assembled in its neighbourhood. Tettenborn had, it is true, received a reinforcement of eight hundred Prussians, and two thousand Swedes; but still

what resistance could he offer to Davoust's forty thousand men? Tettenborn did not deceive himself as to the weakness of the allies on this point, or the inutility of attempting to defend the city. He yielded to the entreaties of the inhabitants, who represented to him that further resistance must be attended by certain ruin. He accordingly evacuated Hamburg on the 29th of May, taking with him his Hanseatic legions, which had not held out an hour in the islands of the Elbe, and accompanied by the Swedish Doctor Von Hess, whose imprudent advice was the chief cause of all the disasters to which the unfortunate city had been exposed.

Davoust was at Haarbarg, where he received the deputies from Hamburg with an appearance of moderation; and by the conditions stipulated at this conference on the 30th of May, a strong detachment of Danish troops occupied Hamburg in the name of the emperor. The French made their entrance the same evening, and occupied the posts as quietly as if they had been merely changing guard. The inhabitants made not a shadow of resistance. Not a drop of blood was shed; not a threat nor an insult was interchanged. This is the truth; but the truth did not suit Napoleon. It was necessary to get up a pretext for revenge, and accordingly recourse was had to a bulletin, which proclaimed to France and Europe that *Hamburg had been taken by main force, with a loss of some hundred men.* But for this imaginary resistance, officially announced, how would it have been possible to justify the spoliations and exactions which ensued?

The Dutch general, Hogendorff, became governor of Hamburg, in lieu of Carra Saint Cyr, who had been confined at Osnabruck since his precipitate retreat. General Hogendorff had been created one of the emperor's aides-de-camp; but he was neither a Rapp, a Lauriston, nor a Duroc. The following measures were adopted at Hamburg: The inhabitants were required to pay all the arrears due to the different public offices, during the seventy days that the French had been absent; and likewise all that would have been paid to the troops of the garrison, had they remained in Hamburg. Payment was also demanded of the arrears for the quartering of troops who were fifty leagues off. However, some of the heads of the government departments, who saw and understood the new situation of the French at Hamburg, did not enforce these unjust and vexatious measures. The duties on registrations were reduced. M. Peyronnier, director of the customs, aware of the peculiar difficulty of his situation, in a country where the customs were held in abhorrence, observed great caution and moderation in collecting the duties. Personal examination, which is so revolting and indecorous, especially with respect to females, was suppressed. But these modifications did not proceed from the highest quarter; they were due to the good sense of the subordinate agents,

who plainly saw that if the empire was to fall, it would not be owing to little infractions in the laws of proscription against coffee and rhubarb.

If the custom-house regulations became less vexatious to the inhabitants of Hamburg, it was not the same with the business of the post-office. The old manœuvres of that department were resumed more actively than ever. Letters were opened without the least reserve, and all the old post-office clerks, who were initiated in these scandalous proceedings were recalled. With the exception of the registrations and the customs, the inquisitorial system, which had so long oppressed the Hanse Towns, was renewed; and yet the delegates of the French government were the first to cry out, "The people of Hamburg are traitors to Napoleon: for, in spite of all the blessings he has conferred upon them, they do not say with the Latin poet, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*"

But all that passed was trifling in comparison with what was to come. On the 18th of June was published an imperial decree, dated the 8th of the same month, by virtue of which were to be reaped the fruits of the official falsehood contained in the bulletin above mentioned. To expiate the crime of rebellion, Hamburg was required to pay an extraordinary contribution of forty-eight millions of francs; and Lubec a contribution of six millions. The enormous sum levied on Hamburg was to be paid in the short space of a month, by six equal instalments, either in money, or bills on respectable houses in Paris. In addition to this, the new prefect of Hamburg made a requisition of grain and provisions of every kind, wines, sail-cloth, masts, pitch, hemp, iron, copper, steel, in short every thing that could be useful for the supply of the army and navy.

But while these exactions were made on property in Hamburg, at Dresden the liberties of individuals and even lives were attacked. On the 15th of June Napoleon, doubtless blinded by the false reports that were laid before him, gave orders for making out a list of the inhabitants of Hamburg who were absent from the city. He allowed them only a fortnight to return home, an interval too short to enable some of them to come from the places where they had taken refuge. They consequently remained absent beyond the given time. Victims were indispensable: but assuredly it was not Bonaparte who conceived the idea of hostages to answer for the men whom prudence kept absent. Of this charge I can clear his memory. The hostages were, however, taken, and were declared to be also responsible for the payment of the contribution of forty-eight millions. In Hamburg they were selected from among the most respectable and wealthy men in the city: some of them far advanced in age. They were conveyed to the old castle of Hauburg, on the left bank of the Elbe; and these men, who had been accustomed to all the comforts of life, were deprived

even of necessities, and had only straw to lie on. The hostages from Lubeck were taken to Hamburg: they were placed between decks on board of an old ship in the port: this was a worthy imitation of the prison ships of England. On the 24th of July there was issued a decree, which was published in the Hamburg Correspondent of the 27th. This decree consisted merely of a proscription list, on which were inscribed the names of some of the wealthiest men in the Hanse Towns, Hanover, and Westphalia.

BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

The following account of the important battle of Lutzen is derived from the interesting narrative of Lord Londonderry, who took an active part in the campaign of 1813.

"Bonaparte, in his eagerness to make a dash on Leipsic, had extended his columns along the line of march; so that, while his advance was close upon Lutzen, his rear had scarcely cleared the deep valley of Grünsbach, on the road from Weissenfels to Leipsic.

"The united armies of the allies, which had crossed the Elbe on the preceding night at Pegau, were thus manœuvring on his right flank, and may be said to have had the choice of time, place, and manner of conducting the attack. The plan was nearly as follows: The enemy occupied in force the villages of Gros-Görschen, Klein-Görschen, Rahno, and Kaya, which lie near each other, somewhat in the form of an irregular square, in the plain between Lutzen and Pegau. The advance of the allies was intended for the purpose of driving the enemy from these villages, and bringing the brunt of the attack on the right of the enemy's position, which appeared to be parallel to the main road from Weissenfels. If the endeavour to turn his right wing should prove successful, the cavalry, it was expected, would have an opportunity of acting with advantage; and the result would have been decisive, inasmuch as the line of communication with the rear would have been cut through. The plain is traversed by the deep channel of a rivulet called the Flossgraben, which was crossed by the whole combined army in small compact columns; and it served as a support to the right after these columns had deployed.

"It was now noon, and some of the Prussian troops had been for thirty-six hours on the march; a halt was therefore ordered behind the heights, about a mile and a half from Gross-Görschen. These heights afforded a view of the enemy's columns in full march towards Leipsic, by the way of Lutzen. The appearance of our battalions disconcerted this design; and their foremost troops, hastily recalled, could be observed retracing their steps, and drawing towards the villages in the centre, against which the main attack was now to be directed. The first line of the assailants was formed by the Prussians under General Blücher, the second by the corps of Russians which had been under the immediate command of Wittgenstein; the Russian guard and grenadiers were in reserve, together with the cavalry of both armies.

After an hour's rest the attack upon the villages was begun; and after a desperate resistance, Rahno and Klein-Görschen (which lie about a cannon-shot to the right and left of Gross-Görschen) were carried by two brigades of Russian infantry under General Ziethen.

"For several hours this success was maintained; and our columns pushed forward, driving the enemy before them beyond Kaya, which was in flames and evacuated by both parties. It was now about six o'clock, p. m., and the allies had gained, by hard fighting, more than a mile of ground. The village of Staarniedal, on the enemy's right wing, was evacuated, but the want of sufficient force prevented the allies from occupying it, although the second line had been brought into action."

Napoleon considered the fate of the day as resting on these villages, and they were ordered by him to be defended to the last extremity.

"By this protracted struggle the issue was, in fact, determined, as it allowed time to bring up General Bertrand's corps in support of the right of the French line; while on the left, the Viceroy of Italy, who had brought back his troops almost from the very gates of Leipsic, was in sufficient force to baffle an effort made by Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, with a corps of Prussian infantry, to turn the enemy's position by its left flank. Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg failed altogether, for instead of outflanking the enemy, he was himself outflanked, and kept his place in the line only by an exertion of the greatest bravery.

"This was the state of things when the day closed: doubtful and hard-earned success in the centre was counterbalanced by the threatening aspect of both wings of the enemy's army, which was steadily advancing, while no adequate force could be brought forward to resist them, formidable as they were both from numbers and from the comparative freshness of their troops: it thus became necessary to give up the point to which the attacks of the morning had been directed."

Before the allied troops were drawn off a gallant effort was made.

"As soon as the darkness of night afforded a cover to the attempt, the whole force of cavalry, which had scarcely been engaged at all during the day, was ordered forward with the hope of effecting a surprise, and driving the enemy from his ground at the moment when he thought himself secure in its occupation."

This bold attempt, for several reasons, did not succeed.

"Our cavalry were soon dispersed in all directions, and the allies were not only unsuccessful in their immediate object, but lost the services of their cavalry at the critical moment when it became necessary to withdraw their columns in the very front of a daring and successful enemy. The retreat was effected early in the morning of the 3d of May, upon Borne and Altenburg. Precautionary measures were immediately adopted to protect the allied army from being hurried across the Elbe. Throughout the day (2d of May) the allies certainly had an advantage; but the appearance of the viceroy, when there were no more reinforcements to bring up, changed the face of things. Night came on before any advantage was reaped, and the allies remained on the field of battle. It was observed, too, and the fact was of some importance, that the greater part of the enemy's corps actually engaged were German troops,

Westphalian and Bavarian. Some of the more sanguine calculators indulged an expectation, that these would lay down their arms, but all accounts agreed that they fought with most desperate valour."

With respect to comparative force, Lord Londonderry says—

"The most probable conclusion at which I could arrive was, that Bonaparte had brought up about 110,000 men, the viceroy 30,000, with 2500 cavalry, and 1300 artillery; making about 144,000 men. The French infantry was good, and the artillery well served; but they had no flying artillery, and very little cavalry. As to the allied troops engaged, the corps of Wittgenstein, D'Yorck, Blucher, and Winzingerode, would amount to nearly 60,000, including 20,000 cavalry: to these we must add 9000 under Bulow, 10,000 with Miloradovitch, and General Massenbourg's division of about 25,000. I had, however, reason to believe that not more than 20,000 Russians, and 50,000 Prussians, were engaged. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded did not fall short of 10,000 men, amongst whom were some names of note. Prince Leopold of Hesse Hombourg was unfortunately killed; the Prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and the deservedly celebrated Prussian General Scharnhorst (whose services in organizing the landwehr had been so conspicuous), were amongst the wounded. The prince died the next day at Pegau; the general lingered till the 28th of June. General Blucher himself received a slight wound. Both the allied sovereigns (the King of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander) displayed the greatest courage. Not a single piece of artillery was lost, and but few prisoners were taken. Several of the enemy's guns and tumbrels, with about six or eight hundred prisoners, were carried off as the trophies of the day."

The effect, however, of this battle, and of the advance movements of General Sebastiani and Marshal Davoust was, that the allies were obliged to abandon the line of the Elbe; nor were their affairs fully retrieved until the decisive battle of Leipsic.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

1813.

Napoleon's second visit to Dresden—Battle of Bautzen—The congress at Prague—Napoleon ill advised—Battle of Vittoria—General Moreau—Rupture of the conferences at Prague—Defection of Jomini—Battles of Dresden and Leipsic—Account of the death of Duroc—An interrupted conversation resumed a year after—Particulars respecting Poniatowski—His extraordinary courage and death—His monument at Leipsic, and tomb in the cathedral of Warsaw.

ON the 2d of May Napoleon won the battle of Lutzen. A week after he was at Dresden, not as on his departure for the Russian campaign, like the sovereign of the west, surrounded by his mighty vassals: he was now in the capital of the only one of the monarchs of his creation who remained faithful to the French cause, and whose good faith eventually cost him half of his dominions. The emperor staid only ten days in Dresden, and then went in pursuit of the Russian army, which he came up with on the 19th, at Bautzen. This battle, which was followed on the two succeeding days by the battles of Wurtchen and Ochkirchen, may be said to have lasted three days—a sufficient proof that it was obstinately disputed. It ended in favour of Napoleon; but he and France paid dearly for it: while General Kirschner and Duroc were talking together, the former was killed by a cannon-ball, which mortally wounded the latter in the abdomen.

The moment had now arrived for Austria to prove whether or not she intended entirely to desert the cause of Napoleon. All her amicable demonstrations were limited to an offer of her intervention in opening negotiations with Russia. Accordingly, on the 4th of June, an armistice was concluded at Plesswitz, which was to last till the 8th of July, and was finally prolonged to the 10th of August.

The first overtures after the conclusion of the armistice of Plesswitz, determined the assembling of a congress at Prague. It was reported at the time, that the allies demanded the restoration of all they had lost since 1805; that is to say, since the campaign of Ulm. In this demand Holland and the Hanse Towns, which had become French provinces, were comprehended. But we should still have retained the Rhine, Belgium, Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy. The battle of Vittoria, which placed the whole of Spain at the disposal of the English, the

retreat of Suchet upon the Ebro,* the fear of seeing the army of Spain annihilated, were enough to alter the opinions of those councillors who still recommended war. Notwithstanding Napoleon's opposition, and his innate disposition to acquire glory by his victories, probably he would not have been inaccessible to the reiterated representations of sensible men who loved their country. France, therefore, has to reproach his advisers. At this juncture General Moreau arrived; it has been said that he came at the solicitation of Bernadotte. This is neither true nor probable. In the first place, there never was any intimacy between Bernadotte and Moreau; and, in the next, how can it be imagined that Bernadotte wished to see Moreau emperor! But this question is at once put at rest by the fact, that in the interview at Abo, the emperor of Russia hinted to Bernadotte the possibility of his succeeding Napoleon. It was generally reported at the time that the French princes of the house of Bourbon had made overtures to Moreau through the medium of General Willot, who had been proscribed on the 18th Fructidor; and I have since learned from an authentic source, that General Moreau, who was then at Baltimore, refused to support the Bourbon cause. Moreau yielded only to his desire of being revenged on Napoleon; and he found death where he could not find glory.†

At the end of July the proceedings of the congress at Prague were no further advanced than at the time of its assembling. Far from cheering the French with the prospect of a peace, the emperor made a journey to Mentz; the empress went there to see him, and returned to Paris immediately after the emperor's departure. Napoleon went back to Dresden, and the armistice not being renewed, it died a natural death on the 17th of August, the day appointed for its expiration. A fatal event immediately followed the rupture of the conferences. On the 17th of August, Austria, wishing to gain by war, as she had before gained by alliances, declared that she would unite her forces with those of the allies. On the very opening of this disastrous campaign, General Jomini went over to the enemy. Jomini belonged to the staff of the unfortunate Marshal Ney, who was beginning to execute, with his wonted ability, the orders he had received. The extraordinary conduct of Jomini excited great astonishment. Public opinion has pronounced judgment upon him.

The first actions were the battle of Dresden, which took place seven days after the rupture of the armistice, and the battle in

* The news of this decisive battle increased the difficulty of the French plenipotentiaries at Prague, and raised the claims of the allies. It also shook the confidence of those who remained faithful to us.

† Having mentioned the name of Moreau, I may take this opportunity of correcting an error into which I fell while speaking of General Lajollais in connexion with the conspiracy of Georges, &c. Some papers have fallen into my hands, proving beyond a doubt that General Lajollais was not an accomplice in the conspiracy.

which Vandamme was defeated, and which rendered the victory of Dresden unavailing. I have already mentioned that Moreau was killed at Dresden.* Bavaria was no sooner rid of the French troops than she raised the mask and ranged herself among our enemies. In October the loss of the battle of Leipsic decided the fate of France. The Saxon army, which had long remained faithful to us, went over to the enemy during the battle. Prince Poniatowski perished at the battle of Leipsic in an attempt to pass the Elster.

I will take this opportunity of relating what I know respecting the death of two men who were both deeply and deservedly regretted—Duroc and Poniatowski. Napoleon lamented Duroc, chiefly because he was very useful to him. He, however, wished to make a parade of sensibility, and, after having arranged the tragical scene of Duroc's death, he ordered a picture to be painted, to transmit the recollection of the event to posterity; with this view a suitable story was drawn up for a bulletin.

* The following is a contemporary account of the death of Moreau, whose military fame once rivalled that of Bonaparte. It is taken from a letter written by a British officer, and dated Toplitz, September 4th, 1813:

"General Moreau died yesterday. He was in the act of giving some opinion on military matters, while passing with the Emperor of Russia behind a Prussian battery to which two French batteries were answering, one in front and the other in flank, and Lord Cathcart and Sir R. Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and shattered his other leg to pieces. He gave a deep groan at first, but immediately after the first agony of pain was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and called for a cigar. They bore him off the field on a litter made of Cossacks' pikes, and carried him to a cottage at a short distance, which, however, was so much exposed to the fire, that they were obliged, after just binding up his wounds, to remove him further off to the emperor's quarters, where one leg was amputated, he smoking the whole time. When the surgeon informed him that he must deprive him of the other leg, he observed, without showing any pain or peevishness, but in the calmest manner, that had he known that before his other was cut off, he should have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him was covered with nothing but wet straw, and a cloak drenched through with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day. They now placed more cloaks over him, and laid him more comfortably in a good litter, in which he was carried to Dippoldeswalde; but long before his arrival there he was soaked through and through. He was brought, however, safely to Laun, where he seemed to be going on well, till a long conference which took place between him and three or four of the allied generals, by which he was completely exhausted. Soon after this he became extremely sick, and hourly grew worse. Through the whole of his sufferings he bore his fate with heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed, and appeared to those with whom he conversed to endure but little pain, so calm and so extremely composed was he. He died at six o'clock yesterday morning."—*Editor.*

The following letter from General Moreau to his wife, after receiving his mortal wound, has been kindly communicated to the Editor by Sir J. Philippart:

"Ma chère amie,—A la bataille de Dresde, il y a trois jours, j'ai eu les deux jambes emportées d'un boulet de canon. Ce coquin de Bonaparte est toujours heureux. On m'a fait l'amputation aussi bien que possible. Quoique l'armée ait fait un mouvement retrograde, ce n'est nullement par revers, mais pour se rapprocher du Général Blücher. Excuse mon griffonage; je t'aime et t'embrasse de tout mon cœur. Je charge Rapatel de finir."—V. M.

This bulletin contained a highflown account of the loss the emperor had sustained; and the following set phrases were put into the mouth of the dying general: "My life has been devoted to your service, and I regret its loss because it might yet be useful to you. Yes, sire, we shall one day meet again; but it will be thirty years hence, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of your country. I have lived like an honourable man, and have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave behind me a daughter; your majesty will be a father to her." But there is not one word of truth in the bulletin account of Duroc's death. The words which he is said to have uttered in his last moments were invented like those attributed to Desaix, after the battle of Marengo. I suppose Napoleon borrowed from Homer the idea of making his heroes deliver speeches when at the point of death. The fact is, Duroc suffered the most excruciating agony; and under such circumstances a man is not likely to be very eloquent, or, indeed, inclined to speak much. I remember reading at the time a letter which came by an estafette; it was written by an individual who accompanied the emperor, and was addressed to a minister. The writer desires his friend not to place any reliance on the official account of Napoleon's visit to Duroc. He added, that the latter, being at the moment in great suffering, and finding that the emperor prolonged his visit, turned impatiently on his left side, and said to the emperor, motioning him with his right hand to withdraw, "Ah, sire, leave me to die quietly."

I will here mention a fact which occurred before Duroc's departure for the campaign of 1812. I used often to visit him at the Pavillon Marsan,* where he lodged. One forenoon, when I had been waiting for him a few minutes, he came from the emperor's apartments, where he had been engaged in the usual business. He was in his court-dress. As soon as he entered, he pulled off his coat and hat, and laid them aside:—"I have just had a conversation with the emperor about you," said he. "Say nothing to any body. Have patience, and you will be"..... He had no sooner uttered these words, than a footman entered to inform him that the emperor wished to see him immediately. "Well," said Duroc, "I must go." No sooner was the servant gone, than Duroc stamped violently on the floor, and exclaimed, "That..... never leaves me a moment's rest. If he finds I have five minutes to myself in the course of the morning, he is sure to send for me." He then put on his coat, and returned to the emperor, saying, "Another time you shall hear what I have to tell you."

From that time I did not see Duroc until the month of January, 1813. He was constantly absent from Paris, and did not return until the end of 1812. He was much affected at the

* In the palace of the Tuileries.—*Editor.*

result of the campaign, but his confidence in Napoleon's genius kept up his spirits. I turned the conversation from this subject, and reminded him of his promise to tell me what had passed between the emperor and himself relative to me. "You shall hear," said he. "The emperor and I had been playing at billiards, and, between ourselves, he plays very badly. He is nothing at a game which depends on skill. While negligently rolling his balls about, he muttered these words: 'Do you ever see Bourrienne now?'—'Yes, sire, he sometimes dines with me on diplomatic reception-days, and he looks so droll in his court-dress, of Lyons manufacture, that you would laugh if you saw him.'—'What does he say respecting the new regulation for the court-dresses?'—'I confess, he says it is very ridiculous; that it will have no other result than to enable the Lyons manufacturers to get rid of their old-fashioned goods; that forced innovations on the customs of a nation are never successful.'—'Oh, that is always the way with Bourrienne; he is never pleased with any thing.'—'Certainly, sire, he is apt to grumble; but he says what he thinks.'—'Do you know, Duroc, he served me very well at Hamburg. He raised a good deal of money for me. He is a man who understands business. I will not leave him unemployed. Time must hang heavily on his hands. I will see what I can do for him. He has many enemies.'—'And who has not, sire?'—'Many complaints against him were transmitted to me from Hamburg; but the letter which he wrote to me in his justification, opened my eyes, and I begin to think that Savary had good motives for defending him. Endeavours are made to dissuade me from employing him; but I shall, nevertheless, do so at last. I remember that it was he who first informed me of the near approach of the war which we are now engaged in. I forget all that has been said against him for the last two years, and as soon as peace is concluded, and I am at leisure, I will think of him.'"

After relating to me this conversation, Duroc said, "You must, of course, feel assured that I said all I think of you, and I will take an opportunity of reminding him of you. But we must be patient. Adieu, my dear friend; we must set off speedily, and Heaven knows when we shall be back again!" I wished him a successful campaign, and a speedy return. Alas! I was doomed to see my excellent friend only once again.

Next to the death of Duroc, the loss most sincerely regretted, during the campaign of 1813, was Prince Poniatowski. Joseph Poniatowski, nephew of Stanislas Augustus, King of Poland, was born at Warsaw, on the 7th of May, 1763. At an early age he was remarkable for his patriotic spirit; but his uncle's influence gave him an apparent irresolution, which rendered him suspected by some of the parties in Poland. After his uncle had acceded to the confederation of Targowitz, Poniatowski left the service, accompanied by most of his principal officers. But

when, in 1794, the Poles endeavoured to repulse the Russians, he again repaired to the Polish camp, and entered the army as a volunteer. His noble conduct obtained for him the esteem of his countrymen. Kosciusko gave him the command of a division, with which he rendered useful services during the two sieges of Warsaw. Immediately after the surrender of that capital, Poniatowski went to Vienna. He refused the offers of Catherine and Paul to bear arms in the service of Russia.

Poniatowski retired to his estate, near Warsaw, where he lived like a private gentleman, until the creation of the grand duchy of Warsaw revived the hopes of the Polish patriots. He then became war-minister. The Archduke Ferdinand having come, in 1809, with Austrian troops, to take possession of the duchy of Warsaw, Poniatowski, who commanded the Polish troops, which were very inferior in numbers to the Austrian force, obliged the latter, rather by dint of skilful manœuvring than by fighting, to evacuate the grand duchy. He pursued them into Galicia as far as Cracow.

After this honourable campaign, he contrived to exercise his functions as minister, until 1812. The war against Russia again summoned him to the head of the Polish army. After taking part in all the events of that war, which was attended by such various chances, Poniatowski was present at the battle of Leipsic. That battle, which commenced on the 14th of October, the anniversary of the famous battle of Ulm, and of Jena, lasted four days, and decided the fate of Europe. Five hundred thousand men fought on a surface of three square leagues.

Retreat having become indispensable, Napoleon took leave, at Leipsic, of the King of Saxony and his family, whom he had brought with him from Dresden. The emperor then exclaimed in a loud voice, "Adieu, Saxons," to the people who filled the market-place, where the King of Saxony resided. With some difficulty, and after passing through many turnings and windings, he gained the suburb of Runstadt, and left Leipsic by the outer gate of that suburb which leads to the bridge of the Elster, and to Lindenau. The bridge blew up shortly after he had passed it, and that event utterly prevented the retreat of the part of the army which was on the left bank of the Elster, and which fell into the power of the enemy. Napoleon was at the time accused of having ordered the destruction of the bridge immediately after he had himself passed it, in order to secure his own personal retreat, as he was threatened by the active pursuit of the enemy. The English journals were unanimous on this point; and to counteract this opinion, which was very general, an article was inserted in the *Moniteur*.

Before passing the bridge of the Elster, Napoleon had directed Poniatowski, in concert with Marshal Maedonald, to cover and protect the retreat, and to defend that part of the suburb of Leipsic which is nearest to the Borna road. For the execution of

these orders he had only two thousand Polish infantry. He was in this desperate situation when he saw the French columns in full retreat, and the bridge so choked up with their artillery and waggons, that there was no possibility of passing it. Then drawing his sword, and turning to the officers who were near him, he said, "Here we must fall with honour!" At the head of a small party of cuirassiers and Polish officers, he rushed on the columns of the allies. In this action he received a ball in his left arm: he had already been wounded on the 14th and 16th. He, nevertheless, advanced; but he found the suburb filled with allied troops. He fought his way through them, and received another wound. He then threw himself into the Pleisse, which is before the Elster. Aided by his officers, he gained the opposite bank, leaving his horse in the river. Though greatly exhausted, he mounted another, and gained the Elster by passing through M. Reichenbach's garden, which was situated on the side of that river. The moment was urgent. In spite of the steepness of the banks of the Elster at that part, the prince plunged with his horse into the river: both man and horse were drowned, and the same fate was shared by several officers, who followed Poniatowski's example. Marshal Macdonald was, luckily, one of those who escaped. Five days after, a fisherman drew the body of the prince out of the water. On the 26th of October, it was temporarily interred at Leipsic, with all the honours due to the illustrious deceased. A modest stone marks the spot where the body of the prince was dragged from the river. The Poles expressed a wish to erect a monument to the memory of their countryman in the garden of M. Reichenbach; but that gentleman declared he would do it at his own expense, which he did. The monument consists of a beautiful sarcophagus, surrounded by weeping willows. The body of the prince, after being embalmed, was sent in the following year to Warsaw; and in 1816 it was deposited in the cathedral, among the remains of the kings and great men of Poland. The celebrated Thorwaldsen was commissioned to execute a monument for his tomb. Prince Poniatowski left no issue but a natural son, born in 1790. The royal race, therefore, exists only in a collateral branch of King Stanislas, namely, Prince Stanislas, born in 1754.

BATTLE OF LEIPSIC.

Of this decisive combat, or rather series of combats, we shall subjoin two accounts: one by Lord Londonderry, who was present in that battle; the other by Savary, Duke of Rovigo.

"The battle of General Blucher, on the 16th, was followed by a complete and signal victory on the 18th, by the combined forces, over Bonaparte, at the head of his army, in the neighbourhood of Leipsic.

The collective loss of above 100 pieces of cannon, 60,000 men, and an immense number of prisoners; the desertion of the Saxon army, and also of the Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops still remaining in the French ranks, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry; many generals killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, among whom were Regnier, Valberg, Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston, were some of the first fruits of the glorious day of the 18th of October. These were followed by the capture by assault of the town of Leipsic; the magazines, the artillery, stores of the place, with the King of Saxony, all his court, the garrison, and the rear-guard of the French army; the whole of the enemy's wounded, the number of whom exceeded 30,000, with the complete rout of the French army, it being entirely surrounded, and endeavouring to escape in all directions: such were the prominent subjects of exultation. Bonaparte was fortunate enough to escape by rapid flight, two hours before the entry into Leipsic of the allied forces. The further results may be ascertained from a statement of the day's military manœuvres and positions, which it will here be my endeavour to give as succinctly as possible: firstly, of the general and combined operations determined upon by the imperial and royal generals; and secondly, a description of what immediately came under my own observation, namely, the movements of General Blucher, and the prince royal.

"The positions of the allied armies up to the 16th have been already detailed. It being announced by Prince Schwartzberg, that it was the intention of their majesties, the allied sovereigns, to renew the attack upon the enemy on the 18th, and the order above detailed for the army having been issued, the armies of the north and Silesia were directed to co-operate. Napoleon's army was situated on the 18th, nearly as follows: the 8th, 2d, and 5th corps, under Murat, at Cannewitz; the right was commanded by Prince Poniatowski; Victor formed the centre at Probstheide; the left, under Lauriston, occupied Haaburg; the guards occupied Thornburg, where Bonaparte was in person; Ney was with Napoleon, Oudinot supported Poniatowski with the *jeune garde*, and Mortier was charged with the defence of Leipsic. The dispositions and orders of the grand army were as follows: the 1st column, under Barclay de Tolly, composed of Wittgenstein's corps, and the Russian and Prussian guards, were to advance to the heights of Wachau; the second column, under the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Homburg, a most gallant and skilful officer (since married to our English Princess Elizabeth, but unfortunately now no more), was composed of the divisions of Bianchi, Maurice Lichtenstein, and Weissenwolf, with the reserve, it marched on Dobitsch, with Colorado's corps, as a further reserve; the 3d column, under Bennigsen, with the corps of Kleinau and Guthin, marched on Hatzhausen.

"Whilst the grand army was to commence the attack from the different points of assembly, on the principal villages situated upon the great roads leading to Leipsic, the armies of the north and Silesia, were jointly to attack the line of the Saale, and the enemy's position along the Partha river. General Blucher intrusted to the Prince Royal of Sweden 30,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and with this

formidable reinforcement, the northern army was to attack from the heights of Taucha; while General Blücher was to retain his position before Leipsic, and use his utmost efforts to gain possession of the place. In the event of the whole of the enemy's forces being carried against either of the armies, they were reciprocally to support each other, and concert further movements.

"That part of the enemy's force which for some time had been opposed to the Prince Royal of Sweden, and General Blücher, had taken up a very good position upon the left bank of the Partha, having its right at the strong point of Taucha, and its left towards Leipsic. To force the enemy's right, and obtain possession of the heights of Taucha, was the first operation of the prince royal's army. The corps of Russians, under General Winzingerode, and the Prussians, under General Bülow, were destined for this purpose; and the Swedish army was directed to force the passage of the river near Plossen and Mockau. The passage was effected without much opposition: General Winzingerode took about 3000 prisoners at Taucha, and some guns; and General Blücher put his army in motion, as soon as he found the grand army engaged very hotly in the neighbourhood of the villages of Stetteritz and Probstheide. The infantry of the prince royal's army had not sufficient time to make their flank movement before the enemy's infantry had abandoned the line of the river, and retired over the plain, in line and column, towards Leipsic, occupying Poundsdorf, and Schönefel in strength, so as to protect their retreat. A very heavy cannonading, and some brilliant performances of General Winzingerode's cavalry, marked chiefly the events of the early part of the day; towards the close, General Count Langeron, who had crossed the river and attacked the village of Schönefel, met a determined resistance, and at first was unable to force his way: he, however, possessed himself of the village, but was driven back; when the most positive orders were sent him by General Blücher to reoccupy it at the point of the bayonet, which he accomplished before sunset. Some Prussian battalions of General Bülow's corps were warmly engaged also at Poundsdorf, and the enemy were retiring from it, when the prince royal directed the rocket brigade, under Captain Bogue, to form on the left of a Russian battery, and open upon the retiring columns. Congreve's formidable weapon had scarcely accomplished the object of paralyzing a solid square of infantry, which after our fire delivered themselves up as if panic-struck, when that estimable man, and gallant officer, Captain Bogue, of the British royal artillery, received a mortal wound in the head, which at once deprived society of a noble character, and this country of his valuable services. Lieutenant Strangeways who succeeded in the command of the brigade, received the prince royal's thanks, conveyed through me, for the important assistance they had rendered. I felt great satisfaction at witnessing during this day a species of improved warfare, the effects of which were truly astonishing; and produced an impression upon the enemy of something supernatural. During the action, twenty-two guns of Saxon artillery, with two Westphalian regiments of hussars, and two battalions of Saxons, joined us from the enemy: the former were instantly led again into the field, our artillery and ammunition not being all brought forward. The close communication was fully

established between the grand army and those of Blucher and the north. The Grand Duke Constantine, Generals Platoff, Miloradovitch, and other officers of distinction, joined the prince royal; to communicate the events carrying on in the several quarters of this great field of battle.

“ The most desperate resistance was made by the enemy at Probstheide, Stetteritz, and Cannowitz. But the different columns bearing on those points, as above detailed, carried every thing before them, General Bennigsen taking the villages on the right bank, and General Giulay manœuvring 25,000 Austrians on the left bank of the Elster. General Thielman's and Prince Maurice Lichtenstein's corps moved upon the same river; and the grand result of the day was, that the enemy lost about 40,000 men in killed and wounded, sixty-five pieces of artillery, and seventeen battalions of German infantry, with all their staff and generals, who came over in a mass during the action. The armies remained during the night, upon the ground which they had so bravely conquered. The prince royal had his bivouac at Poundsdorf; General Blucher remained at Wellens; and the emperors and king at Roda.

“ About the close of the day, it being reported that the enemy were retiring by Weissenfels and Naumberg, General Blucher received an order from the King of Prussia to detach in that direction. The movement of the prince royal's army completely precluded the retreat on Wittenberg; that upon Erfurt had long since been lost to them, and the line of the Saale appeared alone to remain. As both the flanks and rear would be operated upon during their march, it was difficult to say with what portion of his army the enemy could get to the Rhine.

“ On the 19th, the town of Leipsic was attacked, and carried, after a short resistance, by the armies of Blucher, the prince royal, Bennigsen, and the grand army. Marmont and Macdonald commanded in the town; these, with Augereau and Victor, narrowly escaped with a small escort. Their majesties, the Emperor of Russia, and King of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Sweden, heading their respective troops, entered the town at different points, and met in the great square. The acclamations and rejoicings of the people are not to be described; handkerchiefs waving from the windows, hands clamorous in applause; and lastly, but most eloquently, tears rolling from the eyes, announced the delightful era of the liberation of the world from the tyranny of the despot to be at hand. The moment was too enthusiastically felt to be described in adequate terms, and I confess myself unequal to it. The multiplicity of brilliant achievements, the impossibility of doing full justice to the talent and prowess shown in the series of enterprises arising from the boldness of conception in our commander, Prince Field-marshal Schwartzenberg, and the other intrepid and experienced captains, will be admitted by every one, and plead an excuse for a sketch which scarcely merits the name of a description.

“ I sent the account of this battle to England by my aide-de-camp and cousin, Mr. James, who most gallantly was every where in the hottest of the action, and had been distinguished for his ardour in the service since he had been with this army. In order, also, to take every measure to accomplish the transmission home of this

vitaly important intelligence as speedily as possible, I was induced to avail myself of the services of Mr. Solly, a Russian gentleman, largely connected in England; who, with indefatigable zeal, and at great personal risk and inconvenience, undertook to carry a copy of my communication direct to the English government through the midst of the French armies. He embarked in an open boat, and arrived in London with this glorious intelligence in an incredibly short space of time.

"One palliating circumstance connected with my imperfect detail of this combat is, that I wrote it, nearly as I have given it above, on a stone in the field of battle, when the fire had ceased, without correction or amendment. I ought here to record the gallantry displayed, and the efficient assistance I received, from my aides-de-camp, Captain Charles, now Major, Wood, and Lieutenant-Colonel Noel Harris: the latter brave officer lost his arm, in the following year, at Waterloo.

"An officer arrived on the 19th from General Tettenborn, bringing the intelligence of the surrender of Bremen to the corps under his orders; and the keys of that town were presented by the prince royal to the Emperor of Russia in the square at Leipsic.

"The losses sustained in the last four days' combats could not with precision be stated; but they were averaged, on the part of the enemy, at 15,000 prisoners, without reckoning 23,000 sick and wounded found in the hospitals at Leipsic, 250 pieces of cannon, and 900 tumbrils. Prince Poniatowski, Generals Vial, Rochambeau, Dumoutier, Compans, and Latour-Maubourg, were killed; and Ney, Marmont, and Souham, wounded. Fifteen generals were made prisoners. The loss of the allies was equally serious. The Prussian corps of D'York lost 5000 men; the Austrians enumerated no less than sixty officers of distinction killed in this sanguinary contest."*—*Editor.*

The following particulars relative to the battle of Leipsic are derived from Rovigo's Memoirs:

"The enemy attacked our army on the 18th of October, I believe, in front of Leipsic. The fire was murderous, and prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. The behaviour of the French troops was truly astonishing, as the oldest corps among them were the cohorts of the national guards, which had only been made moveable and brought into the field since the month of March. The cavalry was entirely composed of recruits. The men and the horses were equally raw and undisciplined. No part of our army was in a good state except the artillery. Nevertheless, whatever might be the advantage derived from the use of this weapon, the army could not long have resisted the vigorous attacks made upon it, had it not been for the presence of the emperor, who showed himself every where.

"The allies were so numerous, that they scarcely perceived the losses they sustained. Their masses pressed down upon us in every direction; and it was impossible that victory could fail to be with them. Their success, however, would have been less decisive, had it not been for the defection of the Saxons. In the midst of the battle, these troops having moved towards the enemy, as if intending to make an attack, turned suddenly round, and opened a heavy fire of artil-

* Marquis of Londonderry's "Narrative of the War in Germany and France."

lery and musketry on the columns by the side of which they had a few moments before been fighting. I do not know in what page of history such a transaction is recorded. This event immediately produced a great difference in our affairs, which were before in a bad enough train. I ought here to mention, that before the battle the emperor dismissed a Bavarian division, which still remained with him. He spoke to the officers in terms which will not soon be effaced from their memory. He told them, that, 'according to the laws of war, they were his prisoners, since their government had taken part against him; but that he could not forget the services they had rendered him, and that they were therefore at liberty to return home.' These troops left the army, where they were much esteemed, and marched for Bavaria.

"The desertion of the Saxons to the enemy obliged the emperor to order movements to which he would not otherwise have resorted, especially in so warm an action. These unexpected movements caused disorder, when that calmness and that cool determination by which so much may be done at the decisive moment of a battle, were most wanting. It was now necessary to think of a retreat, which had, indeed, already begun, in consequence of the physical and moral exhaustion of the troops, which had maintained the contest since the morning under marked disadvantages.

"The enemy soon perceived that our troops were retiring; but his attacks were not relaxed. The bridge of Leipsic was the only passage whereby the retreat could be effected; and it is inconceivable how the staff of the army could have neglected to build other bridges. Their construction would have been quite easy, as in such a town as Leipsic materials and workmen would have been found in abundance, if the artificers of the army had been insufficient.

"The Prince de Neufchâtel declared that he had directed bridges to be prepared: the artillery and engineer departments asserted that they had received no orders. Whether the neglect was in the issuing or the execution of the orders, the consequences were not the less disastrous.

"After nearly the whole of the left, and part of the centre had passed the Elster, the emperor himself crossed. He desired the artillery-officer who had charge of the bridge, for the destruction of which preparation had been made, not to leave the spot, and not to put the match to the train until all the troops had passed over.

"At first, the corps proceeded along the bridge without any disagreeable accident; but such was the disorder, that no one could tell whether or not his column was the last which had to pass. The enemy's sharpshooters were in advance; the pressure towards the bridge was great, and the confusion became extreme.

"The officer left in charge of the bridge not knowing what was the state of things on the enemy's side, ran towards a general officer to learn, if possible, from him how far the passage had been effected; but he was carried away by the crowd, and could not return. The artillery-men who were under his command, seeing German troops and Cossacks pushing forward, blew up the bridge without waiting for orders; and thus the right of the army, which kept the enemy's masses in check, was cut off.

"The report of this unfortunate event soon spread through the ranks. The right was in its turn thrown into disorder, and an escape was sought through fields and marshes. This completed the disaster: the troops were made prisoners of war; and Generals Lauriston and Reynier were taken with them. Prince Joseph Poniatowski, recently made marshal of France, had just at this moment gained the banks of the Elster. Though wounded, consulting only his courage, he plunged on horseback into the river, where he unfortunately perished. It was impossible to be more brave than was this prince: impetuous, magnanimous, and always amiable, he was as much esteemed by those against whom he combated, as regretted by the party whom he served.

"Thus terminated the fatal day of Leipsic: the result of which to France was the loss of a fine and numerous army and all her allies."—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

1813.

Amount of the allied forces against Napoleon—Their advance towards the Rhine—Levy of two hundred thousand men—Dreadful situation of the French at Mentz—Declaration of the allies at Frankfort—Diplomatic correspondence—The Duke de Bassano succeeded by the Duke de Vicenza—The conditions of the allies vaguely accepted—Caulaincourt sent to the head-quarters of the allies—Manifesto of the allied powers to the French people—Gift of thirty millions from the emperor's privy purse—Wish to recal M. de Talleyrand—Singular advice relative to Wellington—The French army recalled from Spain—The throne resigned by Joseph—Absurd accusation against M. Lainé—Adjournment of the legislative body—Remarks of Napoleon reported by Cambacérès.

WHEN the war resumed its course, after the disaster of Leipsic, the allied sovereigns determined to treat with Napoleon only in his own capital, as he, four years before, had refused to treat with the Emperor of Austria, except at Vienna. The latter sovereign now completely raised the mask, and declared to the emperor, that he would make common cause with Russia and Prussia against him. In his declaration he made use of the singular remark, that the more enemies there were against him, there would be the greater chance of speedily obliging him to accede to conditions which would at length restore the tranquillity of which Europe stood so much in need. This declaration on the part of Austria was an affair of no little importance, for she had now raised an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men. An equal force was enrolled beneath the Russian banners, which were advancing towards the Rhine. Prussia had two hundred thousand men; the Confederation of the Rhine, one hundred and fifty thousand: in short, including the Swedes and

the Dutch, the English troops in Spain and in the Netherlands, the Danes, who had abandoned us, the Spaniards and Portuguese, whose courage and hopes were revived by our reverses, Napoleon had arrayed against him upwards of a million of enemies. Among them, too, were the Neapolitans, with Murat at their head.

The month of November, 1813, was fatal to the fortune of Napoleon. In all parts the French armies were repulsed, and driven back upon the Rhine, while in every direction the allied forces advanced towards that river. For a considerable time I had confidently anticipated the fall of the empire; not because the foreign sovereigns had vowed its destruction, but because I saw the impossibility of Napoleon defending himself against all Europe; and because I knew that, however desperate might be his fortune, nothing would induce him to consent to conditions which he considered disgraceful. At this time, every day was marked by a new defection. Even the Bavarians, the natural allies of France; they whom the emperor had led to victory, at the commencement of the second campaign of Vienna, they whom he had, as it were, adopted on the field of battle, were now against us, and were the bitterest of our enemies.

Even before the battle of Leipsic, the consequences of which were so ruinous to Napoleon, he had felt the necessity of applying to France for a supply of troops; as if France had been inexhaustible. He directed the empress regent to make this demand; and accordingly Maria Louisa proceeded to the senate, for the first time, in great state: but the glories of the empire were now on the decline. The empress obtained a levy of two hundred and eighty thousand troops; but they were no sooner enrolled, than they were sacrificed. The defection of the Bavarians considerably augmented the difficulties which assailed the wreck of the army that had escaped from Leipsic. They had got before us to Hanau, a town four leagues distant from Frankfurt: there they established themselves, with the view of cutting off our retreat; but French valour was roused, the little town was speedily carried, and the Bavarians were repulsed with considerable loss. The French army arrived at Mentz; if, indeed, one may give the name of army to a few masses of men, destitute, dispirited, and exhausted by fatigue and privation. On the arrival of the troops at Mentz, no preparation had been made for receiving them: there were no provisions, or supplies of any kind; and, as the climax of misfortune, contagious diseases broke out amongst the men. All the accounts I received, concurred in assuring me that their situation was dreadful.

However, without counting the wreck which escaped from the disasters of Leipsic, and the ravages of disease; without including the two hundred and eighty thousand men which had been raised by a *senatus consultum*, on the application of Maria Louisa, the emperor still possessed a hundred and twenty th

that was only for the sake of gaining time, and inducing a belief that he was favourably disposed to peace.

The allies having learned the immense levies of troops which Napoleon was making, and being well acquainted with the state of feeling in France, published the famous manifesto, addressed to the French people, which was profusely circulated, and may be referred to as a warning to subjects, who trust to the promises of governments.

The good faith with which the promises in the manifesto were kept, may be judged of from the treaty of Paris. In the mean time the manifesto did not a little contribute to alienate from Napoleon those who were yet faithful to his cause; for, by believing in the declarations of the allies, they saw in him the sole obstacle to that peace which France so ardently desired. On this point, too, the allies were not wrong, and I confess that I did not see without great surprise that the Duke de Rovigo, in that part of his Memoirs where he mentions this manifesto, reproaches those who framed it for representing the emperor as a madman, who replied to overtures of peace only by conscription levies. After all, I do not intend to maintain that the declaration was entirely sincere; with respect to the future it certainly was not. Switzerland was already tampered with, and attempts were made to induce her to permit the allied troops to enter France by the bridge of Bâle. Things were going on no better in the south of France, where the Anglo-Spanish army threatened our frontiers by the Pyrenees, and already occupied Pam-peluna; and at the same time the internal affairs of the country were no less critical than its external position. It was in vain to levy troops; every thing essential to an army was wanting. To meet the most pressing demands, the emperor drew out thirty millions from the immense treasure which he had accumulated in the cellars and galleries of the Pavilion Marsan at the Tuileries.* These thirty millions were speedily swallowed up. Nevertheless, it was an act of generosity on the part of Napoleon, and I never could understand on what ground the legislative body complained of the outlay; because, as the funds did not proceed from the budget, there needed no financial law to authorize their application. Besides, why did these rigid legislators, who, while fortune smiled on Bonaparte, dared not utter a word on the subject, demand, previously to the gratuitous gift just mentioned, that the three hundred and fifty millions in the emperor's privy purse, should be transferred to the imperial treasury, and carried to the public accounts? Why did they wink at the accumulation in the Tuileries of the contributions and exactions levied in conquered countries? The answer is plain; because there would have been danger in opposing it.

* This hoarding of money shows Napoleon's ignorance of all that relates to finance, since money has no value except in circulation.

Amidst the difficulties which assailed the emperor, he cast his eyes on M. de Talleyrand. But it being required as a condition of his receiving the portfolio of foreign affairs, that he should resign his office of vice-grand-electeur, M. de Talleyrand preferred a permanent post to a portfolio, which the caprice of a moment might withdraw. I have been informed that, in a conversation with the emperor, M. de Talleyrand gave him the extraordinary advice of working upon the ambition of the English family of Wellesley; and to excite in the mind of Wellington, the lustre of whose reputation was now dawning, ambitious projects, which would have embarrassed the coalition. Napoleon, however, did not adopt this proposition, the issue of which he thought too uncertain, and, above all, too remote, in the urgent circumstances in which he stood. Caulaincourt was then made minister for foreign affairs, in lieu of M. Maret, who was appointed secretary of state; an office much better suited to him.

Meanwhile the emperor was wholly intent on the means of repelling the attack which was preparing against him. The critical circumstances in which he was placed, seemed to restore the energy which time had in some measure robbed him of. He turned his eyes towards Spain, and resolved to bring the army from that country, to oppose the allies, whose movements indicated their intention of entering France by Switzerland. An event occurred connected with this subject, calculated to have a decided influence on the affairs of the moment, namely, the renunciation of Joseph, King of Spain, of all right to the crown, to be followed by the return, as had been agreed on, of Ferdinand to his dominions. Joseph made this sacrifice at the instigation of his brother. The treaty was signed, but an inconceivable delay occurred in its execution; while the torrent, which was advancing upon France, rushed forward so rapidly, that the treaty could not be carried into execution. Ferdinand, it is true, reascended his throne, but from other causes.

On the 19th of December, the legislative body was convoked. It was on a Wednesday. M. Lainé was vice-president under M. Regnier. A committee was appointed to examine and report on the communications of the emperor. The report and conclusions of the committee were not satisfactory; it was alleged that they betrayed a revolutionary tendency, of which M. Lainé was absurdly accused of having been one of the promoters; but all who knew him must have been convinced of the falsehood of the charge. The emperor ordered the report to be seized, and then adjourned the legislative body. Those who attentively observed the events of the time, will recollect the stupor which prevailed in Paris on the intelligence of this seizure, and the adjournment of the legislative body. A thousand conjectures were started, as to what new occurrences had taken place abroad; but nothing satisfactory was learned.

The members of the adjourned legislative body went, as usual, to take leave of the emperor, who received them on a Sunday, and after delivering to them the speech, which is very well known, dismissed *the rebels* with great ill-humour, refusing to hear any explanation. In after conversations, he said of the legislative body, that "its members never came to Paris but to obtain some favours. They importuned the ministers from morning till night; and complained if they were not immediately satisfied. When invited to dinner, they burn with envy at the splendour they see before them." I heard this from Cambacérès, who was present when the emperor made these remarks.

NAPOLEON'S SPEECH TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

"I have suppressed your address," he began abruptly: "it was incendiary.—I called you round me to do good—you have done ill. Eleven-twelfths of you are well intentioned, the others, and above all M. Lainé, are factious intriguers, devoted to England, to all my enemies, and corresponding through the channel of the advocate Désèze with the Prince Regent. Return to your departments, and feel that my eye will follow you; you have endeavoured to humble me, you may kill me, but you shall not dishonour me. You make remonstrances; is this a time, when the stranger invades our provinces, and 200,000 Cossacks are ready to overflow our country? There may have been petty abuses; I never connived at them. You, M. Renouard, you said that Prince Massena robbed a man at Marseilles of his house.—*You lie!* The general took possession of a vacant house, and my minister shall indemnify the proprietor. Is it thus that you dare affront a marshal of France who has bled for his country, and grown gray in victory? Why did you not make your complaints in secret to me? I would have done you justice. We should *wash our dirty linen* in private, and not drag it out before the world. You call yourselves representatives of the nation. It is not true; you are only deputies of the departments; a small portion of the state, inferior to the senate, inferior even to the council of state. The representatives of the people! I am alone the representative of the people. Twice have twenty-four millions of French called me to the throne—which of you durst undertake such a burden? It had already overwhelmed (*écrasé*) your Assemblies, and your Conventions, your Vergniauds and your Goudets, your Jacobins and your Girondins.—They are all dead! What, who are *you*? nothing—all authority is in the throne; and what is the throne? this wooden frame covered with velvet?—no, I am the throne. You have added wrong to reproaches. You have talked of concessions—concessions that even my enemies dared not ask. I suppose if they asked Champagne, you would have had me give them La Brie besides; but in four months I will conquer peace, or I shall be dead.—You advise! how dare you debate of such high matters (*de si graves intérêts*)! You

have put me in the front of the battle as the cause of war—it is infamous (*c'est une atrocité*). In all your committees you have excluded the friends of government—extraordinary commission—committee of finance—committee of the address, all, all my enemies. M. Lainé, I repeat it, is a traitor; he is a wicked man, the others are mere intriguers. I do justice to the eleven-twelfths; but the factions I know, and will pursue. Is it, I ask again, is it while the enemy is in France that you should have done this? But nature has gifted me with a determined courage—nothing can overcome me. It cost my pride much too—I made that sacrifice; I—but I am above your miserable declamations. I was in need of consolation, and you would mortify me—but, no, my victories shall crush your clamours: in three months we shall have peace, and you shall repent your folly. *I am one of those who triumph or die.*

“Go back to your departments. If any one of you dare to print your address, I shall publish it in the *Moniteur* with notes of my own. Go, France stands in more need of me than I do of France. I bear the eleven-twelfths of you in my heart—I shall nominate the deputies to the two series which are vacant, and I shall reduce the legislative body to the discharge of its proper duties. The inhabitants of Alsace and Franche Comté, have a better spirit than you; they ask me for arms, I send them, and one of my aides-de-camp will lead them against the enemy.”

Having delivered this speech with the rapidity and violence approaching to fury, he dismissed the insulted representatives of France, and hastened to his own destruction in the continuance of the war.—
Editor.

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM.

THE reader will see in our account of the rupture between Bonaparte and Murat, how important a cause in producing that effect was the maritime war with England, coupled with the insane decrees of Berlin and Milan. It was the same every where. In rising against the thralldom of France, almost the first step taken by Prussia was to renounce the continental system. That Prussia should now (in 1836) be attempting to create a sort of continental system of her own, is matter for melancholy reflection. We allude, of course, to the German custom-house league, of which she is at the head. The following is a decree against the system of Bonaparte in 1813:

“*Prussian Edict, concerning the Abolition of the so-called Continental System, and the Duties to be collected on Goods hereafter imported by Sea.*

“We, Frederick William, by the grace of God, King of Prussia &c., having found cause to withdraw ourselves from the alliance with France, likewise deem it necessary herewith to declare, that all restraints under which commerce has hitherto suffered in our states, in

consequence of the so-denominated continental system, are abolished, and that the ships and goods of all friendly and neutral nations shall be freely permitted to enter in our harbours and territories, without any exception or difference. All French goods, either produce or manufactures, are, on the contrary, herewith totally prohibited, not only for use, but likewise to pass through our territories, or those occupied by our armies. The so-denominated continental impost is taken off, and exclusive of the consumption-excite to be especially paid on all foreign goods entered inwards by sea for home-consumption, there shall be levied the heretofore-established moderate impost and transit duty, as it was previous to the establishment of the continental impost in the year 1810; which duty shall be collected on the gross weight; but only continue so long as the increased expenses arising from the war carrying on for the liberation of Germany, shall render it necessary.

"We give to our privy councillor of state, and chief of the Inward Customs Department, M. von Heydebreck, full and uncontrolled power to make what further alterations he may see fit in the whole of the forementioned temporary import-duties, &c., and to put them in a fitter proportion; as likewise to reduce, or entirely take off, at his own judgment, the consumption-excite, on such articles where the collecting the full consumption-excite, together with the import-duty, would fall too heavily on the home consumption.

"All our public officers whom this matter concerns are directed to pay due attention hereto.

"Given at Breslau, March 20, 1813.

"(Signed)

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"Hardenberg."

CHAPTER XXV.

1813.

The flag of the army of Italy and the eagles of 1813—Entrance of the allies into Switzerland—Summons to the minister of the police—My refusal to accept a mission to Switzerland—Interviews with M. de Talleyrand and the Duke de Vicenza—Offer of a dukedom and the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour—Definitive refusal—The Duke de Vicenza's message in 1815—Commencement of the siege of Hamburg—Death of V—A bri—leagues long—Executions at Lubeck—Scarcity of—in H—Banishment of the inhabitants—Men bastinadoed—men w—Hospitality of the inhabitants of Altona.

I AM now arrived at the most critical career. What reflections must he have leisure to reflect in comparing the glory with the re of his falling fa trust presents e compare the fa

of Italy, which the youthful conqueror, Bonaparte, carried to the Directory, with those drooping eagles who had now to defend the aerie whence they had so often taken flight to spread their triumphant wings over Europe! Here we see the difference between liberty and absolute power! Napoleon, the son of liberty, to whom he owed every thing, had disowned his mother, and was now about to fall. Those glorious triumphs were now over, when the people of Italy consoled themselves for defeat, and submitted to the magical power of that liberty which preceded the republican armies.* Now, on the contrary, it was to free themselves from a despotic yoke that the nations of Europe had taken up arms, and were preparing to invade France.

With the violation of the Swiss territory by the allied armies, after the consent of the cantons, is connected a fact of great importance in my life, and which, if I had chosen, might have made a great difference in my destiny. On Tuesday, the 28th of December, I dined with my old friend, M. Pierlot, and, on leaving home, I was in the habit of telling where I might be found in case I should be wanted. At nine o'clock at night an express arrived from the minister of police, desiring me to come immediately to his office. I confess, considering the circumstances of the times, and knowing the emperor's prejudices against me, such a request, coming at such an hour, made me feel some uneasiness, and I expected nothing less than a journey to Vincennes. The Duke de Rovigo, by becoming responsible for me, had as yet warded off the blow, and the supervision to which the emperor had subjected me, thanks to the good offices of Davoust, consisted in going three times a week to show myself to Savary.

I accordingly repaired to the hotel of the minister of the police: I was ushered into a well-lighted room, and when I entered I found Savary waiting for me. He was in full costume, from which I concluded he had just come from the emperor. Advancing towards me with an air which showed he had no bad news to communicate, he thus addressed me: "Bourrienne, I have just come from the emperor, who asked me where you were? I told him that you were in Paris, and that I saw you often. 'Well,' continued the emperor, 'bid him come to me, I want to employ him. It is three years since he has had any thing to do. I wish to send him as minister to Switzerland, but he must set off directly. He must go to the allies. He understands German well. The King of Prussia expressed by letter satisfaction at his conduct towards the Prussians, whom the war forced to retire to Hamburg. He knows Prince Wittgenstein, who is the friend of the King of Prussia, and probably is at

* We repeat that the Italian people were hardly ever to be considered as belligerents. It was Austria and a few old dynasties that were conquered in Italy.—Editor.

Lorrach.* He will see all the Germans who are there. I confidently rely on him, and believe his journey will have a good result. Caulaincourt will give him his instructions.'"

Notwithstanding my extreme surprise at this communication, I replied without hesitation, that I could not accept the mission; that it was offered too late. "It, perhaps, is hoped," said I, "that the bridge of Bâle will be destroyed, and that Switzerland will preserve her neutrality. But I do not believe any such thing; nay, more, I am convinced of the contrary. I can only repeat, the offer comes much too late."—"I am very sorry for this resolution," observed Savary, "but Caulaincourt will perhaps persuade you. The emperor wishes you to go to the Duke de Vicenza to-morrow at one o'clock; he will acquaint you with all the particulars, and give you your instructions."—"He may acquaint me with whatever he chooses, but I will not go to Lorrach."—"You know the emperor better than I do, he wishes you to go, and he will not pardon your refusal."—"He may do as he pleases, but no consideration shall induce me to go to Switzerland."—"You are wrong: but you will reflect on the matter between this and to-morrow morning. Night will bring good counsel. At any rate, do not fail to go to-morrow at one o'clock to Caulaincourt, he expects you; and directions will be given to admit you immediately."

Next morning, the first thing I did was to call on M. Talleyrand. I told him what had taken place, and as he was intimately acquainted with Caulaincourt, I begged him to speak to that minister in favour of my resolution. M. de Talleyrand approved of my determination not to go to Switzerland, and at one o'clock precisely I proceeded to M. de Caulaincourt's. He told me all he had been instructed to say. From the manner in which he made the communication, I concluded that he himself considered the proposed mission a disagreeable one, and unlikely to be attended by any useful result. I observed that he must have heard from Savary, that I had already expressed my determination to decline the mission which the emperor had been pleased to offer me. The Duke de Vicenza then, in a very friendly way, detailed the reasons which ought to induce me to accept the offer; and did not disguise from me, that by persisting in my determination, I ran the risk of raising Napoleon's doubts as to my opinions and future intentions. I replied, that having lived for three years as a private man, unconnected with public affairs, I should have no influence at the head-quarters of the allies, and that whatever little ability I might be supposed to possess, that would not counterbalance the difficulties of my situation, and the opinion that I was out of favour. I added, that I should appear at the head-quarters without any decoration,

* Lorrach is a village two miles from Bâle, the place fixed on for the starting-point of the Austro-Russian army.

without even that of the cordon of the Legion of Honour, to which the emperor attached so much importance, and the want of which would almost have the appearance of disgrace; and I added, that these trifles, however slightly valued by reasonable men, were not, as he well knew, without their influence on the men with whom I should have to treat. "If that be all," replied Caulaincourt, "the obstacle will speedily be removed. I am authorized by the emperor to tell you, that he will create you a duke, and give you the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour."

After these words I thought I was dreaming, and I was almost inclined to believe that Caulaincourt was jesting with me. However, the offer was serious, and I will not deny that it was tempting; yet I nevertheless persisted in the refusal I had given. At length, after some further conversation, and renewed, but useless, entreaties on the part M. de Caulaincourt, he rose, which was a signal that our interview was terminated. I acknowledge I remained for a moment in doubt how to act, for I felt we had come to no understanding. M. de Caulaincourt advanced slowly towards the door of his cabinet. If I went away without knowing his opinion, I had done nothing; addressing him, therefore, by his family name, "Caulaincourt," said I, "you have frequently assured me that you would never forget the services I rendered to you and your family, at a time when I possessed some influence. I know you, and therefore speak to you without disguise. I do not now address myself to the emperor's minister, but to Caulaincourt. You are a man of honour, and I can open my heart to you frankly. Consider the embarrassing situation of France, which you know better than I do. I do not ask you for your secrets, but I myself know enough. I will tell you candidly, that I am convinced the enemy will pass the Rhine in a few days.* The emperor has been deceived: I should not have time to reach my destination, and I should be laughed at. My correspondents in Germany have made me acquainted with every particular. Now, Caulaincourt, tell me honestly, if you were in my place, and I in yours, and I should make this proposition to you, what determination would you adopt?"

I observed from the expression of Caulaincourt's countenance, that my question had made an impression on him, and affectionately pressing my hand, he said, "I would do as you do: Enough. I will arrange the business with the emperor." This reply seemed to remove a weight from my mind, and I left Caulaincourt with feelings of gratitude. I felt fully assured that he would settle the business satisfactorily, and in this conjecture I was not deceived, for I heard no more of the matter.

* I spoke thus to M. de Caulaincourt on a Wednesday. On the following Friday the allied troops passed the Rhine.

I will here go forward a year to relate another occurrence in which the Duke de Vicenza and I were concerned. When, in March, 1815, the king appointed me prefect of police, M. de Caulaincourt, sent to me a confidential person to inquire whether he ran any risk in remaining in Paris, or whether he had better remove. He had been told that his name was inscribed in a list of individuals, whom I had received orders to arrest. Delighted at this proof of confidence, I returned the following answer by the Duke de Vicenza's messenger: "Tell M. de Caulaincourt that I do not know where he lives. He need be under no apprehension: I will answer for him."

During the campaign of 1813, the allies, after driving the French out of Saxony, and obliging them to retreat towards the Rhine, besieged Hamburg, where Davoust was shut up with a garrison of thirty thousand men, resolutely determined to make it a second Sarragosa. From the month of September, every day augmented the number of the allied troops, who were already making rapid progress on the left bank of the Elbe. Davoust endeavoured to fortify Hamburg on so extended a scale, that, in the opinion of the most experienced military men, it would have required a garrison of sixty thousand men to defend it in a regular and protracted siege. At the commencement of the siege Davoust lost Vandamme, who was killed in a sortie at the head of a numerous corps, which was inconsiderately sacrificed. It is but justice to admit that Davoust displayed great activity in his erroneous and useless system of defence: he began by laying in large supplies. General Bertrand was directed to construct a bridge to form a communication between Hamburg and Haarburg, by joining the islands of the Elbe to the continent, along a total distance of about two leagues. This bridge was to be built of wood; and Davoust seized upon all the timber-yards to supply materials for its construction. In the space of eighty-three days the bridge was finished. It was a very magnificent structure, its length being two thousand five hundred and twenty-nine fathoms, exclusive of the lines of junction, formed on the two islands.*

The inhabitants were dreadfully oppressed, but all the cruel measures and precautions of the French were ineffectual; for the allies advanced in great force, and occupied Westphalia, which movement obliged the governor of Hamburg to recall to the town the different detachments scattered round Hamburg.

At Lubeck the departure of the French troops was marked by blood. Before they evacuated the town, an old man, and a butcher named Prahl, were condemned to be shot. The butcher's

* After the general peace, and the final return of the Bourbons to France, the senate of Hamburg caused this bridge to be destroyed, on the ground that it was a dangerous medium of communication with the town. But the enormous expense necessary for keeping the bridge in repair, was a consideration which had great weight in the determination of the senate.

crime consisted in having said, in speaking of the French, "*Der teufel hohle sie*" (the devil take them). The old man fortunately escaped his threatened fate; but, notwithstanding the entreaties and tears of the inhabitants, the sentence upon Prah! was carried into execution. The garrison of Hamburg was composed of French, Italian, and Dutch troops. Their number at first amounted to thirty thousand; but sickness made great havoc among them. From sixty to eighty perished daily in the hospitals. When the garrison evacuated Hamburg in May, 1814, it was reduced to about fifteen thousand men.

In the month of December provisions began to diminish, and there was no possibility of renewing the supply. The poor were first of all made to leave the town, and afterwards all persons who were not usefully employed. It is no exaggeration to estimate at fifty thousand the number of persons who were thus exiled. The colonel commanding the gendarmerie at Hamburg, notified to the exiled inhabitants, that those who did not leave the town within the prescribed time would receive fifty blows with a cane, and afterwards be driven out. But if penance may be commuted with priests, so it may with gendarmes. Delinquents contrived to purchase their escape from the bastinado by a sum of money; and French gallantry substituted with respect to females the whip for the cane. I saw an order directing all female servants to be examined as to their health, unless they could produce certificates from their masters. On the 25th of December, the governor granted twenty-four hours longer to persons who were ordered to quit the town; and two days after this indulgence, an ordinance was published, declaring that those who should return to the town, after once leaving it, were to be considered as rebels, and accomplices of the enemy, and as such, condemned to death by a prevotal court. But this was not enough. At the end of December, people, without distinction of sex or age, were dragged from their beds, and conveyed out of the town, on a cold night, when the thermometer was between sixteen or eighteen degrees; and it was affirmed that several old men perished in this removal. Those who survived were left on the outside of the Altona gates. At Altona they all found refuge and assistance. On Christmas-day, seven thousand of these unfortunate persons were received in the house of M. Rainville, formerly aide-de-camp to Dumouriez, and who left France together with that general. His house, which was at Holstein, was usually the scene of brilliant entertainments; but it was converted into the abode of misery, mourning, and death. All possible attention was bestowed on the unfortunate outlaws; but few profited by it, and, what is worse, the inhabitants of Altona suffered for their generosity. Many of the unfortunate persons were infected with the epidemic disease, which was raging in Hamburg, and which, in consequence, broke out at Altona.

All means of raising money in Hamburg being exhausted, a seizure was made of the funds of the bank of that city, which yet contained from seven to eight millions of marks. Were those who ordered this measure not aware, that to seize on the funds of some of the citizens of Hamburg was an injury to all foreigners who had funds in the bank? Such is a brief statement of the vexations and cruelties which long oppressed this unfortunate city. Napoleon accused Hamburg of Anglomania, and by ruining her he thought to ruin England. Hamburg, feeble, and bereft of her resources, could only complain, like Jerusalem when besieged by Titus: "*Plorans, ploravit in nocte.*"

[The following additional facts relating to the cruel fate of Hamburg, and the infamous conduct of Davoust, rest on good authority, and will not be read without a melancholy interest.

Marshal Davoust, in Bonaparte's peerage Duke of Auerstädt and Prince of Eckmühl, was one of the least scrupulous of all the French commanders. He was with Napoleon in Egypt and Syria, and dyed his hands in the foul slaughter at Jaffa. He afterwards made himself known and dreaded throughout Germany, and his appointment to be governor of Hamburg was a sure sign to the unhappy citizens that they were to be treated without mercy. His brutal insolence and harshness were almost without a parallel even in those days of violence. Only Vandamme could compete with Davoust. In direct violation of the laws of nations, he arrested M. Becker, a German author, and counsellor of the court of Gotha, and threw him into a dungeon at Magdeburg! The Duke of Weimar interceded for his subject, and declaring M. Becker to be guilty of no offence, begged he might be released. The marshal replied with insulting scorn, and after refusing the duke's request, added, "Besides, the Germans are altogether a stubborn people, and they will hardly become tame and docile until I have made some striking examples, by hanging up on one tree a German prince, a man of letters, and a merchant, as a warning to the rest."*

He compelled the daughters of the best families in Hamburg to work at the fortifications, among common labourers and galley-slaves, as a punishment for their having embroidered the standard of the Hanseatic Legion! A physician of Hamburg, a man of science and general acquirements, appealed to the marshal, who had ordered him to quit his house within half an hour, that it might be converted into a hospital for the soldiery. He represented that his library, his valuable apparatus, his anatomical collection, would not last in so short

* Life and Camp

marshal

a time; that if they were left they would be destroyed by the soldiers; and that in those things consisted all the property he had in the world. "Property!" roared Davoust; "How, sir! your property! where can you have property?" And, catching hold of a button of the doctor's coat, he continued, "Not even this button can be called your property—it belongs to the emperor. You must turn out of your house within half an hour. Begone!" On the east side of Hamburg there was a large and pleasant village called Hamm, which was chiefly inhabited by the respectable merchants. In the middle of December Davoust ordered that forty houses in the village should be burnt and levelled with the ground. This was the fourth destruction of the sort which had taken place within fourteen days, on the plea that such measures were necessary for the defence of the city. He promised to allow eight-and-forty hours for the removal of furniture and property; but, before thirty hours had elapsed, the French pioneers, with their matches in their hands, burst into these houses in the night, and burnt or pillaged whatever they found there. The mayor wrote to Davoust, reminding him that he had promised a respite of forty-eight hours, and informing him that this promise had been disregarded. The letter continued, "The remaining inhabitants of Hamm earnestly beseech you to inform them how far the burning of the village may yet extend, as they only request time and notice to remove their effects. I entreat to be favoured with a word of consolation to this effect, that I may communicate it to the distressed parishioners." Ten days after writing this letter the mayor received a verbal message, authorizing him to announce to the inhabitants of Hamm that it was not the marshal's intention to destroy any more houses there. And yet three weeks had hardly elapsed before an order was issued to burn every remaining house in Hamm that very evening! The inhabitants could scarcely remove any of their effects; they were turned out upon the highway in the midst of winter, *without shelter and without bread*; their comfortable homes were consumed in their sight, and they saw their furniture used as fuel in the watch-fires of the French. If any unhappy families clung to the spot, they were forced away at the bayonet's point; if any refused to open their doors, they were fired upon. The ruffianly soldiers went about this cruel work with *gaieté de cœur*, singing and dancing from house to house. Military men have said that this destruction was not even useful as a means of defence, but was committed from mere malignity of heart. In the depth of a most severe winter Davoust turned out of Hamburg all the inhabitants who had not been born in the city, or were not stocked with provisions for six months: no less than thirty thousand were thus driven from their homes. Davoust next ordered the public hospital for the insane and infirm to be cleared out in a few hours for the use of his army. Nearly

four hundred miserable patients of both sexes — idiots and maniacs, the halt, the blind, and the bedridden, were thrust forth and driven together into a field covered with snow! The marauders of Europe, the executioners of these atrocious orders, laughed while they executed them. "Their fits of convulsive laughter, the shouts of the mad," says a German writer, "their weeping, their curses, and their prayers, were alike the subject of mockery for the French; and more than thirty of them were found dead next morning."

According to an official estimate, it appears that the losses which Davoust occasioned to the city and its environs amounted to thirteen millions sterling; that he reduced the population from one hundred and twenty thousand to forty thousand; that he burnt or otherwise destroyed more than fifteen hundred houses; and that in the depth of a German winter he turned out more than sixteen hundred families, whom he had robbed of every thing, to beg their bread or to starve! These were Marshal Davoust's deeds at Hamburg.—*Editor.*]

CHAPTER XXVI.

1813—1814.

Prince Eugène and the affairs of Italy—The army of Italy on the frontiers of Austria—Eugène's regret at the defection of the Bavarians—Murat's dissimulation and perfidy—His treaty with Austria—Hostilities followed by a declaration of war—Murat abandoned by the French generals—Proclamation from Paris—Murat's success—Gigantic scheme of Napoleon—Napoleon advised to join the jacobins—His refusal—Armament of the national guard—The emperor's farewell to the officers—The congress of Châtillon—Refusal of an armistice—Napoleon's character displayed in his negotiations—Opening of the congress—Discussions—Rupture of the conferences.

I SHALL now proceed to notice the affairs of Italy, and the principal events of the viceroyalty of Eugène. In order to throw together all that I have to say about the viceroy, I must anticipate the order of time.

After the campaign of 1812, when Eugène revisited Italy, he was promptly informed of the more than doubtful dispositions of Austria towards France. He then made preparations for raising an army capable of defending the country which the emperor had committed to his safeguard. Napoleon was fully aware how much advantage he would derive from the presence, on the northern frontiers of Italy, of an army sufficiently strong to harass Austria, in case she should draw aside the transparent veil which still covered her policy. Eugène did all that depended on him to meet the emperor's wishes; but, in spite of

his efforts, the army of Italy was, after all, only an imaginary army to those who could compare the number of men actually enrolled, with the numbers stated in the lists. When, in July, 1813, the viceroy was informed of the turn taken by the negotiations at the shadow of a congress assembled at Prague, he had no longer any doubt of the renewal of hostilities; and foreseeing an attack on Italy, he resolved, as speedily as possible, to approach the frontiers of Austria. He had succeeded in assembling an army composed of French and Italians, and amounting to forty-five thousand infantry, and five thousand cavalry. On the renewal of hostilities, the viceroy's head-quarters were at Udina. Down to the month of April, 1814, he succeeded in maintaining a formidable attitude, and in defending the entrance of his kingdom, by dint of that military talent, which was to be expected in a man bred in the great school of Napoleon, and whom the army looked up to as one of its most skilful generals.

During the great and unfortunate events of 1813, all eyes had been fixed on Germany and the Rhine; but the defection of Murat, for a time, diverted attention to Italy. That event did not so very much surprise me; for I had not forgotten my conversation with the King of Naples, in the Champs-Élysées, with which I have made the reader acquainted. At first, Murat's defection was thought incredible by every one, and it highly excited Bonaparte's indignation. Another defection, which occurred about the same period, deeply distressed Eugène; for, though raised to the rank of a prince, and almost a sovereign, he was still a man, and an excellent man. He was united to the Princess Amelia of Bavaria, who was as amiable, and as much beloved, as he; and he had the deep mortification to count the subjects of his father-in-law among the enemies whom he would probably have to combat. Fearing lest he should be harassed by the Bavarians on the side of the Tyrol, Eugène commenced his retrograde movement in the Autumn of 1813. He at first fell back on the Tagliamento, and successively on the Adige. On reaching that river, the army of Italy was considerably diminished, in spite of all Eugène's care of his troops. About the end of November, Eugène learned that a Neapolitan corps was advancing upon Upper Italy, part taking the direction of Rome, and part that of Ancona. The object of the King of Naples was to take advantage of the situation of Europe, and he was duped by the promises held out to him as the reward of his treason. Murat seemed to have adopted the artful policy of Austria; for not only had he determined to join the coalition, but he was even maintaining communications with England and Austria; while, at the same time, he was making protestations of fidelity to his engagements with Napoleon.

When first informed of Murat's treason by the viceroy, the emperor refused to believe it. "No," he exclaimed to those about him, "it cannot be! Murat, to whom I have given my

sister ! Murat, to whom I have given a throne ! Eugène must be misinformed. It is impossible that Murat has declared himself against me !” It was, however, not only possible, but true. Gradually throwing aside the dissimulation beneath which he had concealed his designs, Murat seemed inclined to renew the policy of Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the art of deceiving was deemed by the Italian governments the most sublime effort of genius. Without any declaration of war, Murat ordered the Neapolitan general who occupied Rome to assume the supreme command in the Roman states, and to take possession of the country. General Miollis, who commanded the French troops in Rome, could only throw himself, with his handful of men, into the Castle of St. Angelo, the famous mole of Adrian, in which was long preserved the treasury of Sixtus V. : the French general soon found himself blockaded by the Neapolitan troops, who also blockaded Civita-Vecchia and Ancona.

The treaty concluded between Murat and Austria was definitively signed on the 11th of January, 1814. As soon as he was informed of it, the viceroy, certain that he should soon have to engage with the Neapolitans, was obliged to renounce the preservation of the line of Adige, the Neapolitan army being in the rear of his right wing. He, accordingly, ordered a retrograde movement on the side of the Mincio, where his army was cautioned. In this position Prince Eugène, on the 8th of February, had to engage with the Austrians, who had come up with him, and the victory of the Mincio arrested, for some time, the invasion of the Austrian army, and its junction with the Neapolitan troops. It was not until eight days after, that Murat officially declared war against the emperor ; and immediately several general and superior officers, and many French troops, who were in his service, abandoned him, and repaired to the head-quarters of the viceroy. Murat made endeavours to detain them : they replied, that as he had declared war against France, no Frenchman who loved his country could remain in his service. “ Do you think,” returned he, “ that my heart is less French than yours ? On the contrary, I am much to be pitied. I hear of nothing but the disasters of the grand army. I have been obliged to enter into a treaty with the Austrians, and an arrangement with the English, commanded by Lord Bentinck, in order to save my kingdom from a threatened landing of the English and the Sicilians, which would infallibly have excited an insurrection.”

There could not be a more ingenuous confession of the antipathy which Joachim knew the Neapolitans to entertain towards his person and government.* His address to the French was ineffectual. It was easy to foresee what would ensue. The vice-

* This is not quite correct : the Neapolitans, as a mass, did not entertain an antipathy towards Murat. For an account of these proceedings we refer the reader to notes at the end of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

roy soon received an official communication from Napoleon's war-minister, accompanied by an imperial decree, recalling all the French who were in the service of Joachim, and declaring that all who were taken with arms in their hands should be tried by a court-martial as traitors to their country. Murat commenced by gaining advantages which could not be disputed. His troops almost immediately took possession of Leghorn and the citadel of Ancona, and the French were obliged to evacuate Tuscany.

But, to return to the affairs of France at the end of 1813. The defection of Murat overthrew one of Bonaparte's gigantic conceptions. He had planned that Murat and Eugène, with their combined forces, should march on the rear of the allies, while he, disputing the soil of France with the invaders, should multiply obstacles to their advance; the King of Naples and the Viceroy of Italy were to march upon Vienna and make Austria tremble in the heart of her capital before the timid million of her allies, who measured their steps as they approached Paris, should pollute, by their presence, the capital of France. When informed of the vast project, which however was but the dream of a moment, I immediately recognised that eagle glance, that power of discovering great resources in great calamities, so peculiar to Bonaparte.

Napoleon was yet Emperor of France; but he who had imposed on all Europe treaties of peace no less disastrous than the wars which had preceded them, could not now obtain an armistice; and Caulaincourt, who was sent to treat for one at the camp of the allies, spent twenty days at Luneville before he could even obtain permission to pass the advanced posts of the invading army. In vain did Caulaincourt entreat Napoleon to sacrifice, or at least to resign temporarily, a portion of that glory acquired in so many battles, and which nothing could efface in history. Napoleon replied, "I will sign whatever you wish. To obtain peace I will exact no condition; but I will not dictate my own humiliation." This concession, of course, amounted to a determination not to sign or to grant any thing.

In the first fortnight of January, 1814, one-third of France was invaded, and it was proposed to form a new congress, to be held at Châtillon-sur-Seine. The situation of Napoleon grew daily worse and worse. He was advised to seek extraordinary resources in the interior of the empire, and was reminded of the fourteen armies which rose, as if by enchantment, to defend France at the commencement of the revolution. Finally, a reconciliation with the jacobins, a party who had power to call up masses to aid him, was recommended. For a moment he was inclined to adopt this advice. He rode on horseback through the suburbs of Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marceau, courted the populace, affectionately replied to their acclamations, and he thought he saw the possibility of turning to account the attach-

ment which the people evinced for him. On his return to the palace some prudent persons ventured to represent to him, that instead of courting this absurd sort of popularity it would be more advisable to rely on the nobility and the higher classes of society:—"Gentlemen," replied he, "you may say what you please, but in the situation in which I stand, my only nobility is the rabble of the faubourgs, and I know of no rabble but the nobility whom I have created." This was a strange compliment to all ranks, for it was only saying that they were all rabble together.

At this time the jacobins were disposed to exert every effort to serve him; but they required to have their own way, and to be allowed freely to excite and foster revolutionary sentiments. The press, which groaned under a most odious and intolerable censorship, was to be wholly resigned to them. I do not state these facts from hearsay. I happened by chance to be present at two conferences, in which were set forward projects infected with the odour of the clubs; and these projects were supported with the more assurance, because their success was regarded as certain. Though I had not seen Napoleon since my departure for Hamburg, yet I was sufficiently assured of his feeling towards the jacobins to be convinced that he would have nothing to do with them. I was not wrong. On hearing of the price they set on their services, he said, "This is too much, I shall have a chance of deliverance in battle; but I shall have none with these furious blockheads. There can be nothing in common between the demagogic principles of 93 and the monarchy: between clubs of madmen and a regular ministry; between a committee of public safety and an emperor; between revolutionary tribunals and established laws. If fall I must, I will not bequeath France to the revolutionists, from whom I have delivered her."*

* Lucien Bonaparte indignantly and eloquently contradicts the assertion that his brother, to preserve his power, was willing to ally himself with the fierce jacobins.

"General Lamarque says with reason, that it was the jacobins that the emperor feared. Yes, without doubt he feared them, but it was on account of France.—He knew that the fanaticism of those men of heart and hand was the more redoubtable because it proceeded from a sincere conviction. But liberty, virtue, philosophy, religion, what can they all do with men when they are steeped in blood and dirt? Ought the world to recognise Minerva under the mask of the Furies? To mutilate a political body in order to make it march; to burn it in order to illuminate it; to overturn it in order to sustain it?—Is not this the sad result of the jacobin democracy? Was it not to this frightful system that the French republic owed her fall? and has she not, through unjust prejudice, been held accountable in the eyes of the world for the crimes of the system that destroyed her, and for all the horrors committed under the anti-republican regime of the Reign of Terror?—Yes, it is that regime of fatal memory that has retarded the constitutional reform of Europe by half a century. In subduing that hydra, Napoleon gained his most useful victory; he felt he should dishonour his name if he ever entered into compact with, or encouraged the errors of that faction. Ah! may all the enlightened and generous minds of the youths of France often repeat to themselves, that to dig up the liveries and the examples of the Reign of Terror,

These were golden words, and Napoleon thought of a more noble and truly national mode of parrying the danger which threatened him. He ordered the enrolment of the national guard of Paris, which was placed under the command of Marshal Moncey. A better choice could not have been made; but the staff of the national guard was a focus of hidden intrigues, in which the defence of Paris was less thought about than the means of taking advantage of Napoleon's overthrow. I was made a captain in this guard, and, like the rest of the officers, I was summoned to the Tuileries, on the 21st of January, when the emperor took leave of the national guard, previous to his departure from Paris to join the army. Napoleon entered with the empress. He advanced with a dignified step, leading by the hand his son, who was not yet three years old. It was long since I had seen him. He had grown very corpulent, and I remarked on his pale countenance an expression of melancholy and irritability. The habitual movement of the muscles of his neck was more decided and more frequent than formerly. I shall not attempt to describe what were my feelings during this ceremony, when I again saw, after a long separation, the friend of my youth, who had become master of Europe, and was now on the point of sinking beneath the efforts of his enemies. There was something melancholy in this solemn and impressive ceremony. I

is to serve the cause of despotism; that to evoke the names of Robespierre, Marat, St. Just, is to make humanity, which is now advancing, retrograde by bounds into the shades of the past. We ought never to cease in our efforts to repulse every one of these jacobin provocations or stimulants, by universal and vigorous reprobation; for they are all (though some of them may be well intentioned) the most mortal enemies of social progress. All those who have still present to their minds the crimes that stained France in a former generation, ought to repeat them to the generations which follow, whenever, in their imprudent heat, men seem inclined to forget them in order to attach themselves to speculative truths that were also professed by the men of 1793, even while they were slaughtering a world of victims. Were those men thinking of juries when they judged and executed on the bloody decrees of the public prisons? Were they occupied with liberal ideas when in the same cart they carried to the scaffold the three generations of the Malesherbes, when old men, children, young and handsome women, could no longer find on the soil of France one single support to defend them, a single mouth bold enough to pity them! When they coined money in the reeking square of the revolution! When kings, queens, the nobles, the learned, artisans, warriors, and men of the people, fell *pêle-mêle* under the scythe of the great Moloch!—All this, we have seen, and we ought to repeat it incessantly to our children. Every thing is preferable to this demagogic fanaticism, ay even an Oriental despotism. For if the East has at times, after a great battle, shown us pyramids of human heads, the jacobin marriages (they were not republican) of the Loire, the mitrillades, the butcheries in the prisons, the *glacières*, are more horrible than the pyramids of Tamerlane. No sword kills so many at one time as the tyranny of the mob. Its field of battle, instead of being circumscribed like that of a conqueror, embraces all cities, all towns and villages, and multiplies itself into forty thousand fields of battle, where those who have been betrayed by victory are struck without pity. Far from us, and for ever, be the sacrilegious admiration of the days of terror. My brother would never have worked with such instruments as the jacobins."—*Réponse de Lucien Bonaparte, Prince de Canino, aux Mémoires du Général Lamarque. (Editeur.)*

have rarely witnessed such profound silence in so numerous an assembly. At length, Napoleon, in a voice as firm and sonorous as when he used to harangue his troops, in Italy or in Egypt, but without that air of confidence which then beamed on his countenance, delivered to the assembled officers an address, which was published in all the journals of the time. At the commencement of this address, he said, "I set out this night to take the command of the army. On quitting the capital, I confidently leave behind me my wife and my son, in whom so many hopes are centred." I listened attentively to Napoleon's address, and though he delivered it firmly he either felt, or feigned emotion. Whether or not the emotion was sincere on his part, it was shared by many present; and, for my own part, I confess, that my feelings were deeply moved when he uttered the words, "I leave behind me my wife and my son." At that moment, my eyes were fixed on the young prince; and the interest with which he inspired me was equally unconnected with the splendour which surrounded, and the misfortunes which threatened him. I beheld in the interesting child not the King of Rome, but the son of my old friend.

It may be worth while to remind those who are curious in comparing dates, that Napoleon, the successor of Louis XVI., and who had become the nephew of that monarch, by his marriage with the niece of Marie-Antoinette, took leave of the national guard of Paris on the anniversary of the fatal 21st of January, after twenty-five years of successive terror, fear, hope, glory, and misfortune.

Meanwhile, a congress was opened at Châtillon-sur-Seine, at which were assembled the Duke de Vicenza, on the part of France; Lords Aberdeen, Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart,* as the representatives of England; Count Razumowsky, on the part of Russia; Count Stadion, for Austria; and Count Humboldt, for Prussia. Before the opening of the congress, the Duke de Vicenza, in conformity with the emperor's orders, demanded an armistice, which is almost invariably granted during negotiations for peace; but it was now too late: the allies had long since determined not to listen to any such demand. They therefore answered the Duke de Vicenza's application, by requiring that the propositions for peace should be immediately signed. But these were not the propositions of Frankfort. The allies established as their basis the limits of the old French monarchy. They conceived themselves authorized in so doing by their success, and by their situation.

To estimate rightly Napoleon's conduct during the negotiations for peace, which took place in the conferences at Châtillon, it is necessary to bear in mind the organization he had received

* Now the Marquis of Londonderry. His lordship has published an interesting account of this congress. It will be found at the end of this chapter.
—Editor.

from nature, and the ideas with which that organization had imbued him at an early period of life. If the last negotiations of his expiring reign be examined with due attention and impartiality, it will appear evident that the causes of his fall arose out of his character. I cannot range myself among those adulators who have accused the persons about him with having dissuaded him from peace. Did he not say at St. Helena, in speaking of the negotiations at Châtillon, "A thunderbolt alone could have saved us: to treat, to conclude, was to yield foolishly to the enemy." These words forcibly portray Napoleon's character. It must also be borne in mind how much he was captivated by the immortality of the great names which history has bequeathed to our admiration, and which are perpetuated from generation to generation. Napoleon resolved that his name should resound in ages to come, from the palace to the cottage. To live without fame appeared to him an anticipated death. How often in the days of my intimacy with Bonaparte, has he not said to me, "Who knows the names of those kings who have passed from the thrones on which chance, or birth, seated them? They lived and died unnoticed. The learned, perhaps, may find them mentioned in old archives, and a medal or a coin dug from the earth may reveal to antiquarians the existence of a sovereign, of whom they had never before heard. But, on the contrary, when we hear the names of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Mahomet, Charlemagne, Henry IV., and Louis XIV., we are immediately among our intimate acquaintance." I must add, that when Napoleon thus spoke to me in the gardens of Malmaison, he only repeated what had often fallen from him in his youth; for his character and his ideas never varied; the change was in the objects to which they were applied.

From his boyhood Napoleon was fond of reading the history of the great men of antiquity; and what he chiefly sought to discover, was the means by which those men had become great. He remarked, that military glory secures more extended fame than the arts of peace and the noble efforts which contribute to the happiness of mankind. History informs us, that great military talent and victory often give the power, which, in its turn, procures the means of gratifying ambition. Napoleon was always persuaded that that power was essential to him, in order to bend men to his will, and to stifle all discussions on his conduct. It was his established principle never to sign a disadvantageous peace. To him a tarnished crown was no longer a crown. He said one day to M. de Caulaincourt, who was pressing him to consent to sacrifices, "Courage may defend a crown, but infamy never." In all the last acts of Napoleon's career, I can retrace the impress of his character, as I had often recognised in the great actions of the emperor the execu-

tion of a thought conceived by the general-in-chief of the army of Italy.

On the opening of the congress, the Duke de Vicenza, convinced that he could no longer count on the natural limits of France, promised at Frankfort by the allies, demanded new powers. Those limits were doubtless the result of reasonable concessions, and they had been granted even after the battle of Leipsic; but it was now necessary that Napoleon's minister should show himself ready to make further concessions if he wished to be allowed to negotiate. The congress was opened on the 5th of February, and on the 7th the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers declared themselves categorically. They inserted in the protocol, that after the successes which had favoured their arms, they insisted on France being restored to her old limits, such as they were during the monarchy before the revolution; and that she should renounce all direct influence beyond her future limits.

This proposition appeared so extraordinary to M. Caulaincourt, that he requested the sitting might be suspended, since the conditions departed too far from his instructions to enable him to give an immediate answer. The plenipotentiaries of the allied powers acceded to his request, and the continuation of the sitting was postponed till eight in the evening. When it was resumed, the Duke de Vicenza renewed his promise to make the greatest sacrifices for the attainment of peace. He added, that the amount of the sacrifices necessarily depended on the amount of the compensations, and that he could not determine on any concession or compensation without being made acquainted with the whole. He wished to have a general plan of the views of the allies, and he requested that their plenipotentiaries would explain themselves decidedly respecting the number and description of the sacrifices and compensations to be demanded. It must be acknowledged, that the Duke de Vicenza perfectly fulfilled the views of the emperor in thus protracting and gaining time by subtle subterfuges, for all that he suggested had already been done.

On the day after this sitting, some advantages gained by the allies, who took Châtillon-sur-Marne and Troyes, induced Napoleon to direct Caulaincourt to declare to the congress, that if an armistice were immediately agreed on, he was ready to consent to France being restored to her old limits. By securing this armistice, Napoleon hoped that happy chances might arise, and that intrigues might be set on foot; but the allies would not listen to any such proposition.

At the sitting of the 10th of March, the Duke de Vicenza inserted in the protocol, that the last courier he had received had been arrested and detained a considerable time by several Russian general-officers, who had obliged him to deliver up his

despatches, which had not been returned to him till thirty-six hours after at Chaumont. Caulaincourt justly complained of this infraction of the law of nations and established usage, which, he said, was the sole cause of the delay in bringing the negotiations to a conclusion. After this complaint he communicated to the congress the ostensible orders of Napoleon, in which he authorized his minister to accede to the demands of the allies. But in making this communication, M. de Caulaincourt took care not to explain the private and secret instructions he had also received. The allies rejected the armistice, because it would have checked their victorious advance; but they consented to sign the definitive peace, which of all things was what the emperor did not wish.

In 1813, Napoleon might have obtained the natural limits of France. Why, then, did he not accept them? Why did he allow himself to be driven to the extremity of discussing about the limits of the old monarchy? He wished to have more than the boundary of the Rhine; of this his letter of the 8th of March is a proof. But could he deceive himself respecting the difference of his situation at Frankfort in November, 1813, and at Châtillon in March, 1814; and in spite of the few advantages acquired in his admirable campaign, could he be blind to his future fate? Could he be ignorant that his obstinate delay had forced the allied sovereigns to sign at Chaumont, on the 1st of March, a treaty by which Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, pledged themselves to continue the war with unrelaxed vigour, until France should be restored to her old limits. Alas! we did not even obtain so much.

Napoleon at length determined to make sacrifices, and the Duke de Vicenza submitted new propositions to the congress. The allies replied, in the same sitting, that these propositions contained no distinct and explicit declaration on the project presented by them on the 17th of February; that having on the 28th of the same month demanded a decisive answer within the term of ten days, they were about to break up the negotiations. Caulaincourt then declared verbally—

1st. That Napoleon was ready to renounce all pretension or influence whatever in countries beyond the boundaries of France.

2d. To recognise the independence of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, and that as to England, France would make such concessions as might be deemed necessary in consideration of a reasonable equivalent.

Upon this, the sitting was immediately broken up without a reply. It must be remarked, that this singular declaration was verbal, and consequently, not binding, and that the limits of France were mentioned without being specified. It cannot be doubted that Napoleon meant the limits conceded at Frankfort, to which he was well convinced the allies would not

for circumstances were now changed. Besides, what could be meant by the *reasonable equivalent* from England? Is it astonishing that this obscurity and vagueness should have banished all confidence on the part of the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers? Three days after the sitting of the 10th of March, they declared they could not even enter into a discussion of the verbal protocol of the French minister. They requested that M. de Caulaincourt would declare whether he would accept or reject the project of a treaty presented by the allied courts,* or offer a counter-project.

The Duke de Vicenza, who was still prohibited, by secret instructions, from coming to any conclusion on the proposed basis, inserted in the protocol of the sitting of the 13th of March a very ambiguous note. The plenipotentiaries of the allies, in their reply, insisted upon receiving another declaration from the French plenipotentiary, which should contain an acceptance or refusal of their project of a treaty presented in the conference of the 7th of February, or a counter-project. After much discussion, Caulaincourt agreed to draw up a counter-project, which he presented on the 15th, under the following title: "Project of a definitive Treaty between France and the Allies." In this extraordinary project, presented after so much delay, M. de Caulaincourt, to the great astonishment of the allies, departed in no respect from the declarations of the 10th of March. He replied again to the ultimatum of the allies, or what he wished to regard as such, by defending a multitude of petty interests, which were of no importance in so great a contest; but in general the conditions seemed rather those of a conqueror dictating to his enemies, than of a man overwhelmed by misfortune. As it may readily be imagined, they were, for the most part, received with derision by the allies.

Every thing tends to prove that the French plenipotentiary had received no positive instructions from the 5th of February, and that, after all the delay which Napoleon incessantly created, Caulaincourt never had it in his power to answer, categorically, the propositions of the allies. And why? Because Napoleon never intended to make peace at Châtillon on the terms proposed. He always hoped that some fortunate event would enable him to obtain more favourable conditions.

On the 18th of March, that is to say, three days after the presentation of this project of a treaty, the plenipotentiaries of the allies recorded in the protocol their reasons for rejecting the extraordinary project of the French minister. For my part, I was convinced, for the reasons I have mentioned, that the emperor would never agree to sign the conditions proposed in the ultimatum of the allies, dated the 13th of March, and I remember having expressed that opinion to M. de Talleyrand.

* The conditions of this treaty were, the boundaries of France before the revolution.

I saw him on the 14th, and found him engaged in perusing some intelligence he had just received from the Duke de Vicenza, announcing, as beyond all doubt, the early signature of peace. Caulaincourt had received orders to come to a conclusion. Napoleon, he said, had given him a *carte blanche* to save the capital, and avoid a battle, by which the last resources of the nation would be endangered. This seemed pretty positive, to be sure; but even this assurance did not, for a moment, alter my opinion. The better to convince me, M. de Talleyrand gave me Caulaincourt's letter to read. After reading it, I confidently said, "He will never sign the conditions." M. de Talleyrand could not help thinking me very obstinate in my opinion; for he judged of what the emperor would do by his situation, while I judged by his character. I told M. de Talleyrand that Caulaincourt might have received written orders to sign, for the sake of showing them to the plenipotentiaries of the allies; but that I had no doubt he had been instructed to postpone coming to a conclusion, and to wait for final orders. I added, that I saw no reason to change my opinion, and that I continued to regard the breaking up of the congress as nearer than appearances seemed to indicate. Accordingly, three days afterwards, the allies grew tired of the delay and the conferences were broken up. Thus Napoleon sacrificed every thing rather than his glory. He fell from a great height, but he never, by his signature, consented to any dismemberment of France.

The plenipotentiaries of the allies, convinced that these renewed difficulties and demands had no other object but to gain time, stated that the allied powers, faithful to their principles, and in conformity with their previous declarations, regarded the negotiations at Châtillon as terminated by the French government. This rupture of the conferences took place on the 19th of March, six days after the presentation of the ultimatum of the allied powers. The issue of these long discussions was thus left to be decided by the chances of war, which were not very favourable to the man who boldly contended against armed Europe. The successes of the allies during the conferences at Châtillon had opened to their view the road to Paris; while Napoleon shrunk from the necessity of signing his own disgrace. In these circumstances was to be found the sole cause of his ruin, and he might have said, "*Tout est perdu, fors la gloire.*" His glory is immortal.

THE DEFECTION OF MURAT.

"While the Neapolitans began to lose their affection for King Joachim, and the fortunes of France declined more and more, the Emperor of Austria, in the name of the allied sovereigns, offered him his friendship. Already in the fields of

banks of the Ilm, in the midst of so many examples of inconstancy, the Count de Mier, an Austrian envoy, had made overtures to Murat, who had listened to him without displeasure. And here I must reveal the truth, that the king, by nature or by art, was inclined to cunning and duplicity, which he called policy, and believed to be a necessity of government. He boasted of his ability in this way, but, as it generally happens to the rulers of small states, he was duped by others and by his own very arts. Being doubtful of the future, he took counsel of all those Neapolitan ministers and generals in whom he had most confidence. Opinions were divided, one party recommending him to join the allies, and the other to remain faithful to his brother-in-law, Napoleon, who had made him a king."

Murat seeing that fortune was utterly abandoning the standards of the French, that the neutrality of Switzerland was on the point of being violated, that an Austrian army was already on the Adige, that Venice was blockaded, inclined to the Austrian alliance. Just at this moment of indecision the astute and treacherous Fouché arrived at Naples, and had many and long private audiences with Joachim, who was as timid in the cabinet as he was brave in the field. Fouché is said to have been sent by Napoleon to act as a spy on Murat, and discover his intentions. To do this he acted the part of a disgraced and revengeful minister, and joined Murat in his abuse of his brother-in-law.

"Fouché had scarcely departed for Rome, in the middle of December, 1813, when Count Neipperg, another Austrian envoy, arrived and concluded a treaty with the Duke di Gallo, who acted for Naples. This treaty was signed on the 11th of January, 1814. The principal scope of it was the continuation of the war against France for the re-establishment of the political balance in Europe; and, as means to obtain this, Austria was to maintain 150,000 troops, of which 60,000 were to act in Italy, and Naples was to furnish 30,000 men. Fresh levies were to be added by each contracting party, in case of need. The King of Naples was to have the chief command of the confederated forces in Italy, but in case of his absence the command was to fall to an Austrian general of the highest rank.

"The Emperor of Austria recognised the dominion and sovereignty of the states actually possessed by the King of Naples; and the King of Naples recognised the emperor's right to Lombardy, and all the states he had formerly possessed in Italy.

"They agreed to conclude no peace or truce except by mutual consent. The emperor promised to use his good offices to reconcile Naples with England, and the potentates of Europe confederated with Austria.

"By secret articles it was established that the Emperor of Austria would pledge himself to obtain from King Ferdinand, the Bourbon, the cession of the throne of Naples in favour of Joachim Murat; who, on his side, would renounce all preten-

sions to Sicily, and co-operate, at the general peace, with the other sovereigns of Europe, in obtaining an indemnity to King Ferdinand for his ceded throne of Naples. And as another fruit of this alliance, Joachim was to receive certain territories in the States of the Church, with a population of 400,000 souls."

It was proved, by the event, that Murat was quite capable of breaking faith; but we think it equally certain that Austria contemplated deception in this extraordinary treaty, several articles of which were wholly inexecutable. However, on the 26th of January, the Duke of Gallo and Lord W. Bentinck concluded an armistice, after which hostilities ceased, and a free trade was allowed between Sicily, England, and Naples. At the end of the same month Murat, at the head of a finely-appointed Neapolitan army, marched upon Upper Italy, where, shortly after, he co-operated with the Austrians against the French and northern Italians under the Viceroy Eugène Beauharnais. In April the Neapolitans, fighting with great bravery, defeated the forces of Eugène at Reggio, on the Taro, at Firenzuola, at San Lazzaro, and shortly after, on the arrival of the news that the allies had taken Paris, Eugène was forced to treat, and finally to evacuate all Upper Italy.

More than a year before Murat's secession from the cause of Bonaparte, matters had wellnigh come to extremities between them. They had never been friends since the fatal retreat from Moscow, and they had written the most violent and insulting letters to each other. It will be remembered, that when Napoleon fled from the Niemen to Paris, he left the supreme command of his ruined, demoralized army to Murat, who did his duty until the French were comparatively safe beyond the Oder, and active warfare with the Russians had almost ceased. He then, naturally enough, thought of his pleasant kingdom, his wife, and his children, whom he tenderly loved, and transmitting the command to Eugène Beauharnais, he repaired to Naples.

"As soon as Bonaparte heard that Murat had left the camp, he published the fact in the *Moniteur*, adding severe censure of Joachim and high praises of Eugène. This was the more cutting, as there had long been envy and enmity between Murat and Beauharnais. Not satisfied with this public revenge, Bonaparte wrote to his sister, the Queen of Naples, calling her husband, Joachim, a defaulter, an ungrateful traitor, incapable of sound policy, unworthy of his relationship, deserving of public and severe chastisement. The king answered this letter directly, saying, among other things—

"The wound to my honour is already inflicted, and it is not in the power of your majesty to cure it. You have insulted and calumniated an old companion in arms, faithful to you in your dangers, not a small means of your victories, the support of your greatness, the reanimator of your lost courage on the 18th Brumaire.

"Your majesty says that when a man has the hono

belonging to your *illustrious family*, he ought to do nothing that may endanger its interests, or cloud its splendour. And I, sire, tell you in reply, that your family received as much honour as it gave when it united me in marriage with Caroline.

“A thousand times, although a king, have I sighed for those days in which, as a plain soldier, I had my superiors but no master. I became a king; but in this supreme rank I have been tyrannized over by your majesty—domineered over in my family, and I have felt more than ever a longing after independence—a thirst of liberty. Thus do you afflict, thus do you sacrifice to your suspicion those who have been the most faithful to you—the men who have best aided you in the stupendous march of your fortunes. Thus Fouché was sacrificed to Savary, Talleyrand to Champagny, Champagny himself to Bassano, and Murat to Beauharnais—to Beauharnais, who has with you the merit of a mute obedience, and that more grateful one (because the more servile) of *having gaily announced to the senate of France the repudiation and divorce of his own mother*.

“I can no longer deny my people the restoration of trade, seeing the fatal injuries that the maritime war inflicts upon them.

“From what I have said your majesty must conclude that our old and mutual faith and confidence are diminished. You may do what you like best; but whatever harm you do me, I am still your brother, and faithful brother-in-law, Joachim.”*

THE CONFERENCES AT CHATILLON SUR SOANE.

“I shall now briefly recal the reader to that part of my narrative which touched incidentally upon the great diplomatic transactions in progress at this period, and those negotiations which led to the conferences at Châtillon. The principal secretary of state for foreign affairs having received his majesty’s command, to repair to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, arrived in the month of January, and immediately entered into the strictest communication with the state-ministers of the allied powers. And here I cannot, in natural feeling, refrain from inserting a paragraph of Lord Burghersh’s Memoirs, which states as follows: “The decision now taken in England was to depute one of the cabinet ministers to represent Great Britain in the congress, which appeared now likely to be held for the final arrangement of a secure and lasting peace. Lord Harrowby is understood to have been first thought of for this mission: Lord Castlereagh, however, undertook the charge, and in the beginning

* Il Generale Colletta : Storia del Reame di Napoli. See also, Carlo Botta : Storia d’Italia. (Editor.)

of January joined the head-quarters of the sovereigns. No measure was ever wiser, or productive of greater benefits. Lord Castlereagh, by the manliness of his conduct, by the talent which he displayed under the most difficult circumstances, secured more solid advantages, not only to England, but to Europe, than perhaps will ever be generally known or acknowledged. In the various changes of fortune which attended the operations of the campaign of 1814, the steady course with which he pursued the general objects of the alliance, being never led aside from them either by reverses or success, placed him in triumphant contrast with others, who, elated or depressed by the events of each succeeding period, would have ruined their cause, as much by overstrained pretensions in one alternative, as by a conduct totally the reverse in the other. Lord Castlereagh is understood to have left England with instructions to negotiate for peace upon conditions honourable to France, but differing from those proposed at Frankfort, which the change of circumstances had rendered totally inapplicable." The consequence resulting from M. de St. Aignan's early mission from Frankfort, was the appointment of the Duke de Vicenza, Caulaincourt, as French plenipotentiary to treat for a general peace with the allied plenipotentiaries assembled at Châtillon for this great object."

"The ministers met in the middle of February; Lord Aberdeen, Lord Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart, having been named plenipotentiaries on the part of Great Britain; Count Razumoffski on the part of Russia; Count Stadion for Austria; and Baron Von Humboldt for Prussia. These plenipotentiaries continued to assemble and hold repeated conferences until the middle of March; and during the whole of this period the military operations were carried on. I was prevented by my diplomatic duties from witnessing, and consequently detailing any personal observations on the military movements during the same interval; but the British government were accurately informed of the course of the operations by Colonel Lowe's and Lord Burghersh's very able communications.

"The time may possibly arrive when I shall think myself justified in giving the history of the diplomatic transactions of this little congress at this period. I retain my own minutes of every minister's remarks on all the subjects of discussion, from which a summary might be drawn up, not uninteresting to posterity. It may not here, however, be irrelevant to remark, that it was easy to perceive from the first discussions, as to the terms of peace for Europe, that the most serious difficulties presented themselves; and while the statesmanlike views of the ministers were influenced by the peculiar feelings of their sovereigns on the spot, it was hardly possible to predict how any ultimate good could be accomplished.

"To prove more strongly the truth of what I have asserted
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shall now relate a non-official conversation I held about this period with the Emperor Alexander. His imperial majesty's known condescension of character, and the marked kindness and good-nature he invariably showed me, penetrated me with sincere attachment and devotion to his person, and on various occasions he honoured me by communicating his observations and sentiments. At this period, one of the most difficult and interesting points for adjustment at a general peace, was the fate of the Polish nation, and this peace now began confidently to be looked for. In one of my interviews with the emperor, his imperial majesty dwelt at great length on the immense sacrifices of Russia, and putting these foremost in his statement, he declared how doubly necessary it became him, on the eve of a settlement of Europe, to look to the permanent interests of his own empire. His imperial majesty stated, that his moral feelings, however, and every principle of justice and right called upon him to use all his power to restore such a constitution to Poland as would secure the happiness of so fine and so great a people. The abandonment of seven millions of his subjects, were he to relinquish his Polish provinces in any general arrangement, without a sufficient guarantee to his country for the great utility and advantage of the measure, would be more than his imperial crown was worth. But the consolidating these provinces with the duchy of Warsaw, under such a king, and such a constitutional administration as Russia would name, would be productive of the happiest effects. His imperial majesty continued to observe that his character was well known, and ought to give full confidence to Europe. I remarked in reply, that Europe could not ensure herself at all times an Alexander on the throne. To which his imperial majesty rejoined, that the Grand Duke Constantine partook entirely of his own sentiments, as well as his two brothers. He was happy also to believe that the proposition he had started, and the mode in which he viewed it, were seen by Austria in the same light. That he had a very long conversation with Prince Metternich a day or two since, in which the whole of his majesty's plan had been opened, and that the prince had nothing to say against it (*n'avait rien contre*), or words to this purpose.

"I was considerably struck at the time with so extraordinary a declaration from his majesty; and I ventured not only to express my surprise, but to assure his majesty that Prince Metternich had held a very different language to me, and that I never could suppose he would leave to England the task of being the only power which would oppose itself to his imperial majesty's views in case they should not meet with general concurrence, when they were of so much more vital interest to Austria and Prussia.

"His imperial majesty next alluded, rather in a menacing manner, to his power of taking military occupation of Poland,

and seemed to be certain of the facility with which he could obtain his end; and I doubted much, from the firm and positive manner in which he expressed himself, whether he would ever be diverted from the purpose he now declared. This *exposé* of a great monarch's mind was deeply interesting at the moment it was communicated; and later events showed (notwithstanding the complex character of this question), how sedulously the Emperor of Russia's efforts were thus early directed towards it.

"But confining myself at present to my military narrative, I shall only now insert in the Appendix the declaration of the allied plenipotentiaries, which after much fruitless delay and manœuvring on the part of the French plenipotentiary to gain time, ended by dissolving the congress, and by the return of the ministers to their respective head-quarters. Averse as I had ever been to the whole arrangements and negotiations with M. de St. Aignan, followed up as they were by the conferences at Châtillon, I sincerely rejoiced at their termination; and it was soon indeed perceptible, that the Duke de Vicenza neither talked the language, nor was kept *au courant* of the projects of Napoleon; and that the only desire the latter had was to protract an idle negotiation to cover his own deeper designs and objects. The allies were too long trifled with; and to have permitted it to be spun out longer, would have been unpardonable. I must do Caulaincourt the justice to record, that if it had depended upon him, he was sincerely desirous of obtaining a peace for his emperor, whose predicament he evidently saw was becoming daily more perilous.

"To the memory of these interesting days I must add, that the conviviality and harmony that reigned between the ministers, made the society and intercourse at Châtillon most agreeable. The diplomatists dined alternately with each other; M. de Caulaincourt liberally passing for all the ministers, through the French advanced posts, convoys of all the good cheer, in epicurean wines, &c., that Paris could afford; nor was female society wanting to complete the charm, and banish *ennui* from the Châtillon congress, which I am sure will be long recollected with sensations of pleasure by all the plenipotentiaries there engaged."

DECLARATION OF THE ALLIED PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Châtillon, February 23, 1814.

"Many days having elapsed since the project of the preliminaries of a general peace was presented by the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts to Monsieur the French plenipotentiary, and no reply having been given either in the form of an acceptance, or in the form of a modification of the said project, their majesties, imperial and royal, have thought fit to demand from the French plenipotentiary a distinct

and explicit declaration from his government on the project in question. The plenipotentiaries of the allied courts are of opinion that there is so much the less motive for delay on the part of the French government with respect to a decision on the preliminaries proposed, since the project presented by them is, in substance, based on an offer made by the plenipotentiary of France in his letter to the Prince of Metternich, dated the 9th of this month, which the prince has submitted to the allied courts. Moreover, the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts are charged to declare in the name of their sovereigns, who fully adhere to the substance of the demands contained in these conditions, which they regard as being as essential to the security of Europe, as necessary to the arrangement of a general peace, that they could not interpret any ulterior delay of an answer to their propositions in any other sense than as a refusal on the part of the French government.

"In consequence, the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts, ready to act in concert with Monsieur the French plenipotentiary as to the time indispensably necessary to communicate with his government, have orders to declare, that if, at the expiration of the term judged necessary no answer shall have arrived, the negotiation must be regarded as finished, and the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts will return to head-quarters."—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

1814.

Curious conversation between General Reynier and the Emperor Alexander—Napoleon repulses the Prussians—The Russians at Fontainebleau—Battle of Brienne—Sketch of the campaign of France—Supper after the battle of Champ-Aubert—Intelligence of the arrival of the Duke d'Angoulême and the Count d'Artois in France—The battle of the ravens and the eagle—Battle of Craonne—Departure of the pope and the Spanish princes—Capture of a convoy—Macdonald at the emperor's head-quarters—The inverted cipher.

I WAS always persuaded, and every thing I have since seen has confirmed my opinion, that the allies entering France had no design of restoring the house of Bourbon, or of imposing any government whatever on the French people. They came to destroy and not to found. That which they wished to destroy from the commencement of their success was Napoleon's supremacy; in order to prevent the future invasions with which they believed Europe would still be constantly threatened. If, indeed, I had entertained any doubt on this subject, it would have been banished by the account I heard of General Reynier's con-

versation with the Emperor Alexander. That general, who was made prisoner at Leipsic, was exchanged, and returned to France. In the beginning of February, 1814, he passed through Troyes, where the Emperor Alexander then was. Reynier expressed a desire to be allowed to pay his respects to the emperor, and to thank him for having restored him to liberty. He was received with that affability of manner, which was sometimes affected by the Russian monarch. On his arrival at Paris, General Reynier called at the Duke de Rovigo's, where I had dined that day. He related in my hearing the conversation to which I have alluded, and stated that it had all the appearance of sincerity on the emperor's part. Having asked Alexander whether he had any instructions for Napoleon, as the latter, on learning that he had seen his majesty, would not fail to ask him many questions, he replied that he had nothing particular to communicate to him. Alexander added that he was Napoleon's friend, but that he had, personally, much reason to complain of his conduct; that the allies would have nothing more to do with him; that they had no intention of forcing any sovereign upon France; but that they would no longer acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor of the French. "For my part," said Alexander, "I can no longer place any confidence in him. He has deceived me too often." In reply to this, Reynier made some remarks, dictated by his attachment and fidelity to Bonaparte. He observed that Napoleon was acknowledged as sovereign of France by every treaty. "But," added Reynier, "if you should persist in forcing him to resign the supreme power, whom will you put in his place?"—"Did you not choose him; why then can you not choose another to govern you? I repeat that we do not intend to force any one upon you: but we will have no more to do with him."

Several generals were then named; and after Reynier had explained the great difficulties which would oppose any such choice, Alexander interrupted him, saying, "But, general, there is Bernadotte. Has he not been voluntarily chosen Prince Royal of Sweden; may he not also be raised to the same rank in France? He is your countryman; surely then you may choose him, since the Swedes took him, though a foreigner." General Reynier, who was a man of firm character, started some objections, which I thought at the time well founded; and Alexander put an end to the conversation by saying, rather in a tone of dissatisfaction, "Well, general, the fate of arms will decide."

The campaign of France forced Napoleon to adopt a kind of operations quite new to him. He had been accustomed to attack; but he was now obliged to stand on his defence, so that instead of having to execute a previously conceived plan, as when, in the cabinet of the Tuileries, he traced out to me the field of Marengo, he had now to determine his movements ac-

cording to those of his numerous enemies. When the emperor arrived at Chalons-sur-Marne, the Prussian army was advancing by the road of Lorraine. He drove it back beyond Saint-Dizier. Meanwhile, the grand Austro-Russian army passed the Seine and the Yonne at Montreau; and even sent forward a corps which advanced as far as Fontainebleau. Napoleon then made a movement to the right in order to drive back the troops which threatened to march on Paris; and, by a curious chance, he came up with the troops in the very place where he passed the boyish years in which he cherished what then seemed wild and fabulous dreams of his future fate. What thoughts and recollections must have crowded on his mind, when he found himself an emperor and a king, at the head of a yet powerful army, in the chateau of the Count de Brienne, to whom he had so often paid his homage! It was at Brienne that he had said to me, thirty-four years before, "I will do these Frenchmen all the harm I can." Since then he had certainly changed his mind; but it might be said that fate persisted in forcing the man to realize the design of the boy in spite of himself. No sooner had Napoleon revisited Brienne, as a conqueror, than he was repulsed and hurried towards his fall, which became every moment more certain.

I shall not enter into any details of the campaign of France, because the description of battles forms no part of my plan.* Still I think it indispensable briefly to describe Napoleon's miraculous activity, from the time of his leaving Paris, to the entrance of the allies into the capital. Few successful campaigns have enabled our generals and the French army to reap so much glory as they gained during this great reverse of fortune. For it is possible to triumph without honour, and to fall with glory. The chances of the war were not doubtful; but certainly the numerous hosts of the allies could never have counted on so long and brilliant a resistance. The theatre of the military operations soon approached so near to Paris, that the general eagerness for news from the army was speedily satisfied; and when any advantage was gained by the emperor, his partisans saw the enemy already repulsed from the French territory. I was not for a moment deceived by these illusions, as I well knew the determination and the resources of the allied sovereigns. Besides, events were so rapid and various in this war of extermination, that the guns of the Invalides announcing a victory, were sometimes immediately followed by the distant rolling of artillery, denoting the enemy's near approach to the capital.

The emperor left Paris on the 25th of January, at which time the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia,

* An engagement took place at Brienne; and Napoleon, with fifteen thousand men, kept eighty thousand Russians in check for twelve hours.

were assembled at Langres. Napoleon rejoined his guard at Vitry-le-Français. On the second day after his departure he drove before him the Prussian army, which he had forced to evacuate Saint-Dizier. Two days after this the battle of Brienne was fought; and on the 1st of February between seventy and eighty thousand French and allied troops stood face to face. On this occasion the commanders on both sides were exposed to personal danger; for Napoleon had a horse killed under him, and a Cossack fell dead by the side of Marshal Blücher.

A few days after this battle Napoleon entered Troyes, where he stayed but a short time, and then advanced to Champ-Aubert. At the latter place was fought the battle which bears its name. The Russians were defeated, General Alsfieff was made prisoner, and two thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French. After this battle, the emperor was under such a delusion as to his situation, that while supping with Berthier, Marmont, and his prisoner, General Alsfieff, the emperor said, "Another such victory as this, gentlemen, and I shall be on the Vistula." Finding that no one replied, and reading in the countenances of his marshals that they did not share his hopes, "I see how it is," he added, "every one is growing tired of war; there is no more enthusiasm. The sacred fire is extinct." Then rising from the table, and stepping up to General Drouot, with the marked intention of paying him a compliment, which should at the same time convey a censure on the marshals, "General," said he, patting him on the shoulder, "we only want a hundred men like you, and we should succeed." Drouot replied, with great presence of mind and modesty, "Rather say a hundred thousand, sire." This anecdote was related to me by the two principal persons who were present on the occasion.

Napoleon soon began to have other subjects of disquietude besides the fate of battles. He was aware, that since the beginning of February, the Duke d'Angoulême had arrived at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, whence he had addressed a proclamation to the French armies in the name of his uncle, Louis XVIII.; and he speedily heard of the Count d'Artois's arrival at Vesoul, on the 21st of February, which place he did not leave until the 16th of March following.

Meanwhile hostilities were maintained with increased vigour over a vast line of operations. How much useless glory did not our soldiers gain in these conflicts! In spite of prodigies of valour the enemy's masses advanced, and approximated to a central point, so that this war might be compared to the battles of the ravens and the eagle in the Alps. The eagle slays hundreds of his assailants, every blow of his beak is the death of an enemy; but still the ravens return to the charge, and press upon the eagle until they destroy him.

As the month of February drew to its close, the allies were in

retreat on several points ; but their retreat was not a rout. After experiencing reverses they fell back without disorder, and retired behind the Aube, where they rallied and obtained numerous reinforcements, which daily arrived, and which soon enabled them to resume the offensive.

Still Napoleon continued astonishing Europe, leagued as it was against him. At Craonne, on the 7th of March, he destroyed Blücher's corps, in a severe action ; but the victory was attended by great loss to the conqueror. Marshal Victor was seriously wounded, as well as Generals Grouchy and Ferrière.

While Napoleon was resisting the numerous enemies assembled to destroy him, it might be said that he was his own enemy, either from false calculation, or from negligence with respect to his illustrious prisoners, who, on his departure from Paris, had not yet been sent to their states. The pope was then at Fontainebleau, and the princes of Spain at Valencey. The pope, however, was the first to be allowed to depart. Surely Bonaparte could never have thought of the service which the pope might have rendered him at Rome, into which Murat's troops would never have dared to march had his holiness been present there. With regard to the Spanish princes, Napoleon must have been greatly blinded by confidence in his fortune to have so long believed it possible to retain in France those useless trophies of defeated pretensions. It was, besides, so easy to get rid of the residents of Valencey, by sending them back to the place from whence they had been brought ! It was so natural to recal with all speed the troops from the south, when our armies in Germany began to be repulsed on the Rhine, and even driven into France ! With the aid of these veteran troops, Napoleon and his genius might have again turned the scale of fortune. But Napoleon reckoned on the nation, and he was wrong ; for the nation was tired of him. His cause had ceased to be the cause of France.

The latter days of March were filled up by a series of calamities to Napoleon. On the 23d the rear guard of the French army suffered considerable loss. To hear of attacks on his rear guard must indeed have been mortifying to Napoleon, whose advanced guards had been so long accustomed to open the path of victory ! Prince Schwartzberg soon passed the Aube, and marched upon Vitry and Chalons. Napoleon, counting on the possibility of defending Paris, threw himself, with the velocity of the eagle, on Schwartzberg's rear, by passing by Doulevant and Bar-sur-Aube. He pushed forward his advanced guards to Chaumont, and there saw the Austrian army make a movement, which he took to be a retreat ; but it was no such thing. The movement was directed on Paris, while Blücher, who had reoccupied Chalons-sur-Marne, marched to meet Prince Schwartzberg, and Napoleon, thinking to cut off their

retreat, was himself cut off from the possibility of returning to Paris. Every thing then depended on the defence of Paris; or, to speak more correctly, it seemed possible, by sacrificing the capital, to prolong for a few days the existence of the phantom of the empire which was rapidly vanishing. On the 26th was fought the battle of Fère Champenoise, where valour yielding to numbers, Marshals Marmont and Mortier were obliged to retire upon Sezanne, after sustaining considerable loss.

It was on the 26th of March, and I beg the reader to bear this date in mind, that Napoleon suffered a loss, which, in the circumstances in which he stood, was irreparable. At the battle of Fère Champenoise, the allies captured a convoy, consisting of nearly all the remaining ammunition and stores of the army; a vast quantity of arms, cassoons, and equipage of all kinds. The whole became the prey of the allies, who published a bulletin, announcing this important capture. A copy of this order of the day fell into the hands of Marshal Macdonald, who thought that such news ought immediately to be communicated to the emperor. He therefore repaired himself to the head-quarters of Napoleon, who was then preparing to recover Vitry-le-Français, which was occupied by the Prussians. The marshal, with the view of dissuading the emperor from what he considered a vain attempt, presented him with the bulletin.

This was on the morning of the 27th; Napoleon would not believe the news. "No!" said he to the marshal, "you are deceived, this cannot be true." Then perusing the bulletin with more attention—"Here," said he, "look yourself. This is the 27th, and the bulletin is dated the 29th. You see the thing is impossible. The bulletin is forged!" The marshal, who had paid more attention to the news than to its date, was astounded. But having afterwards shown the bulletin to Drouot, that general said, "Alas! marshal, the news is but too true. The error of the date is merely a misprint, the 9 is a 6 inverted!" On what trifles sometimes depend the most important events. An inverted cipher sufficed to flatter Bonaparte's illusion, or, at least, the illusions which he wished to maintain among his most distinguished lieutenants, and to delay the moment when they should discover that the loss they deplored was too certain. On that very day the empress left Paris.

The grand total of the Austrian army assembled at Dijon, in 1814, was—infantry, 199,000, cavalry, 34,920.

This imposing force was divided into five corps.

The first under Count Colloredo and General Lederer.

The second under Prince Hohenzollern.

The third under the Crown Prince of Wirtemberg and Prince Philip of Hesse Homburg.

The fourth, composed wholly of Bavarians, and amounting to 65,000, under Field-marshal the Prince Wrede.

And the reserve corps under the Archduke Ferdinand and the Prince of Hesse Homburg.

The grand total of the army of Prussians, Russians, &c., was about 120,000.

The whole armed force of Napoleon did not exceed 125,000.

In this defensive campaign of 1814, the genius of Bonaparte displayed itself with wonderful brilliancy. According to the Marquis of Londonderry—

“Napoleon, after the battles of Brienne and La Rothiere, displayed, by his masterly movements with an inferior against two superior armies, and by braving his accumulated difficulties, that undoubted science in war which his bitterest enemies must accord to his genius. In proportion as his embarrassments increased, he seemed to rise superior as an individual. During his adverse fortune on the Elbe he appeared fluctuating and irresolute; and his lengthened stay in untenable and disadvantageous positions, was the cause of his fatal overthrow at Leipsic, and of subsequent misfortunes. But now he appeared once more to have burst forth with all his talent, and all his energies and mental resources.”*

At the battle of La Rothiere Napoleon exhibited great personal courage:

“Bonaparte was seen to encourage his troops, and expose his person fearlessly during the combat; and Marshal Blucher’s movement of his cavalry, which he himself led on, was spoken of in the highest terms. Napoleon, who, at this period, scarcely acted, in any instance, on common military calculation, drew up his army on the 1st of February in two lines, on the great plain before La Rothiere, occupying the villages, and neglecting much stronger ground in his rear about Brienne, evidently showing that he meant to play a desperate game. He led on *la jeune garde* in person against Marshal Blucher’s army, to wrest the village of La Rothiere from the gallant corps of Sacken; but three repeated efforts were ineffectual. All agreed that the enemy fought with great intrepidity. Bonaparte seemed to have set his political existence on a die, as he exposed himself every where: his horse was shot under him, and he had the mortification of witnessing the capture of a battery in charge of *la jeune garde*. Had Marshal Blucher not previously immortalized himself, this day would have crowned him in the annals of fame; for whatever were the well-grounded apprehensions entertained by many for the result of the Prince of Wirtemberg’s attack on the right, the marshal dauntlessly effected those combinations upon which the result of the day depended. The Russian artillery were spoken of in the highest terms: the ground was covered with snow, and so deep,

* See Narrative of the War in Germany and France in 1813 and 1814.

that they were obliged to leave one half of their guns in the rear. Yet by harnessing double teams to the other half, they contrived to bring those forward and get a sufficient number into action. The allies brought about 70 or 80,000 men into this battle; the other corps of the army were not yet in line: the French were supposed to have about the same strength. The enemy's last attack on the village of La Rothiere was at two o'clock on the morning of the 2d, immediately after which they commenced their retreat. Passing the Aube river, they took up a very strong rear-guard position in the neighbourhood of Lesmont."*—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXVIII:

1814.

The men of the revolution and the men of the empire—The council of regency—Departure of the empress from Paris—Marmont and Mortier—Joseph's flight—Meeting at Marmont's hotel—Capitulation of Paris—Marmont's interview with the emperor at Fontainebleau—Colonels Fabvier and Denys—The royalist cavalcade—Meeting at the hotel of the Count de Morfortaine—M. de Chateaubriand and his pamphlet—Deputation to the Emperor Alexander—Entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris—Alexander lodged in M. Talleyrand's hotel—Meetings held there—The Emperor Alexander's declaration—My appointment as postmaster-general.

THE grandees of the empire, the first subjects of Napoleon, were divided into two classes, totally distinct from each other. Among these patronized men were many who had been the first patrons of Bonaparte, and had favoured his accession to consular power. This class was composed of his old friends and former companions in arms. The others, who may be called the children of the empire, did not carry back their thoughts to a period which they had not seen. They had never known any thing but Napoleon and the empire, beyond which the sphere of their ideas did not extend; while among Napoleon's old brothers-in-arms it was still remembered that there was once a country, a France, before they had helped to give it a master. To this class of men France was not confined to the narrow circle of the imperial head-quarters, but extended to the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the two oceans.

On the other hand, numbers of ardent and adventurous young men, full of enthusiasm for Bonaparte, had flown from the school to the camp. They were entirely opposed to Napoleon's downfall, because, with his power would vanish those dreams of glory and fortune which had captivated their imaginations. These young men, who belonged to the class which I have deno-

* Lord Londonderry.

minated children of the empire, were prepared to risk and commit every thing to prolong the political life of their emperor.

The distinction I have drawn between what may be called the men of France and the men of the empire, was not confined to the army, but was equally marked among the high civil functionaries of the state. The old republicans could not possibly regard Napoleon with the same eyes as those whose elevation dated only from Napoleon; and the members of assemblies anterior to the 18th Brumaire, could not entertain the same ideas as those whose notions of national franchises and public rights were derived from their seats as auditors in the council of state. I know not whether this distinction between the men of two different periods has been before pointed out; but it serves to explain the conduct of many persons of elevated rank during the events of 1814. With regard to myself, convinced as I was of the certainty of Napoleon's fall, I conceived that the first duty of every citizen was claimed by his country; and although I may incur censure, I candidly avow that Napoleon's treatment of me during the four last years of his power was not without some influence on my prompt submission to the government which succeeded his. I, however, declare that this consideration was not the sole, nor the most powerful, motive of my conduct. Only those who were in Paris at the period of the capitulation can form an idea of the violence of party feeling which prevailed there both for and against Napoleon, but without the name of the Bourbons ever being pronounced. They were almost unknown to the new generation, forgotten by many of the old, and feared by the conventionalists; at that time they possessed only the frail support of the coteries of the Faubourg St. Germain, and some remains of the emigration. But as it is certain that the emigrants could offer only vain demonstrations and wishes in support of the old family of our kings, they did little to assist the restoration of the Bourbons. Another thing equally certain is, that they alone, by their follies and absurd pretensions, brought about the return of Bonaparte, and the second exile of Louis XVIII. in the following year.

On the 28th of March was convoked an extraordinary council of regency, at which Maria Louisa presided. The question discussed was, whether the empress should remain in Paris, or proceed to Blois. Joseph Bonaparte strongly urged her departure, because a letter from the emperor had directed, that in case of Paris being threatened, the empress-regent, and all the council of regency, should retire to Blois. The arch-chancellor, and the majority of the council, were of the same opinion; but one of the most influential members of the council observed to Joseph, that the letter referred to had been written under circumstances very different from those then existing; and that it was important the empress should remain in Paris, where she would, of course, obtain from the emperor, her father, and the

allied sovereigns, more advantageous conditions than if she were fifty leagues from Paris. The adoption of this opinion would only have retarded, for a few days, a change which had become inevitable; nevertheless it might have given rise to great difficulties. It must be admitted, that for the interests of Napoleon it was the wisest counsel that could be suggested. However, it was overruled by Joseph's advice.

On the departure of the empress, many persons expected a popular movement in favour of a change of government; but the capital remained tranquil. Many of the inhabitants, indeed, thought of defence, not for the sake of preserving Napoleon's government, but merely from that ardour of feeling which belongs to our national character. Strong indignation was excited by the thought of seeing foreigners masters of Paris—a circumstance of which there had been no example since the reign of Charles VII. Meanwhile the critical moment approached. On the 29th of March, Marshals Marmont and Mortier fell back to defend the approaches to Paris. During the night the barriers were consigned to the care of the national guard, and not a foreigner, not even one of their agents, was allowed to enter the capital.

At daybreak, on the 30th of March, the whole population of Paris was awakened by the report of cannon; and the plain of St. Denis was soon covered with allied troops, who were debouching upon it from all points. The heroic valour of our troops was unavailing against such a numerical superiority. But the allies paid dearly for their entrance into the French capital. The national guard, under the command of Marshal Moncey, and the pupils of the Polytechnic school, transformed into artillery men, behaved in a manner worthy of veteran troops. The conduct of Marmont, on that day alone, would suffice to immortalize him. The corps he commanded was reduced to between seven and eight thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry; with whom, for the space of twelve hours, he maintained his ground against an army of fifty-five thousand men, of whom it is said fourteen thousand were killed, wounded, and taken. Marshal Marmont put himself so forward in the heat of the battle, that a dozen of men were killed by the bayonet at his side, and his hat was perforated by a ball. But what was to be done against overwhelming numbers!

In this state of things the Duke de Ragusa made known his situation to Joseph Bonaparte, who authorized him to negotiate.

Joseph's answer is so important, in reference to the events which succeeded, that I will transcribe it here:

If the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso can no longer hold out, they are authorized to negotiate with Prince Schwartzemberg and the Emperor of Russia, who are before them.

They will fall back on the Loire.

JOSEPH.

Montmartre, March 30, 1814;

½ past 12 o'clock.

It was not until a considerable time after the receipt of this formal authority that Marmont and Mortier ceased to make a vigorous resistance against the allied army; for the suspension of arms was not agreed upon until four in the afternoon. It was not waited for by Joseph; at a quarter past twelve, that is to say, immediately after he had addressed to Marmont the authority just alluded to, Joseph repaired to the Bois-de-Boulogne to regain the Versailles road, and from thence to proceed to Rambouillet. The precipitate flight of Joseph astonished only those who did not know him. I know for a fact, that several officers attached to his staff were much dissatisfied at his precipitate flight.

In these circumstances what was to be done but to save Paris, which there was no possibility of defending two hours longer. Methinks I still see Marmont, when, on the evening of the 30th of March, he returned from the field of battle to his hotel in the Rue de Paradis, where I was waiting for him, together with about twenty other persons; among whom were MM. Perregaux and Lafitte. When he entered, he was scarcely recognizable: he had a beard of eight days' growth; the great-coat which covered his uniform was in tatters, and he was blackened with powder from head to foot. We considered what was best to be done, and all insisted on the necessity of signing a capitulation. The marshal must recollect, that the exclamation of every one about him was, "France must be saved." MM. Perregaux and Lafitte delivered their opinions in a very decided way; and it will readily be conceived how great was the influence of two men who were at the head of the financial world. They alleged, that the general wish of the Parisians, which nobody had a better opportunity of knowing than themselves, was decidedly averse to a protracted conflict, and that France was tired of the yoke of Bonaparte. This last declaration gave a wider range to the business under consideration. The question was no longer confined to the capitulation of Paris; but a change in the government was thought of, and the name of the Bourbons was pronounced for the first time. I do not recollect which of us it was who, on hearing mention made of the possible recal of the old dynasty, remarked how difficult it would be to bring about a restoration without retrograding to the past. But I think I am perfectly correct in stating, that M. Lafitte said, "Gentlemen, we shall have nothing to fear if we have a good constitution which will guarantee the rights of all. The majority of the meeting concurred in this wise opinion, which was not without its influence on Marshal Marmont.

During this miserable meeting an unexpected incident occurred. One of the emperor's aides-de-camp arrived at Marmont's. Napoleon being informed of the advance of the allies on Paris, had marched with the utmost speed from the banks of the Marne on the road of Fontainebleau. In the evening he was in person at Froidmanteau, whence he despatched his envoy

to Marshal Marmont. From the language of the aide-de-camp it was easy to perceive that the state of opinion at the imperial head-quarters was very different from that which prevailed among the population of Paris. The officer expressed indignation at the very idea of capitulating, and he announced with inconceivable confidence the approaching arrival of Napoleon in Paris, which he yet hoped to save from the occupation of the enemy. The officer informed us that Napoleon trusted to the people rising in spite of the capitulation, and that they would unpave the streets to stone the allies on their entrance. I ventured to dissent from this absurd idea of defence, and I observed, that it was madness to suppose that Paris could resist the numerous troops who were ready to enter on the following day; that the suspension of arms had been consented to by the allies only to afford time for drawing up a more regular capitulation; and that the armistice could not be broken without trampling on all the laws of honour. I added, that the thoughts of the people were directed towards a better future; that the French were tired of a despotic government, and of the distress to which continual war had reduced trade and industry; "for," said I, "when a nation is sunk to such a state of misery, its hopes can only be directed towards the future; it is natural they should be so directed, even without reflection." Most of the individuals present concurred in my opinion, and the decision of the meeting was unanimous. Marshal Marmont has since said to me, "I have been blamed, my dear Bourrienne: but you were with me on the 30th of March. You were a witness to the wishes expressed by a portion of the principal inhabitants of Paris. I acted as I was urged to do only because I considered the meeting to be composed of men entirely disinterested, and who had nothing to expect from the return of the Bourbons."

Such is a correct statement of the facts which some persons have perverted with the view of enhancing Napoleon's glory. With respect to those versions which differ from mine, I have only one comment to offer, which is, that I saw and heard what I describe.

The day after the capitulation of Paris, Marmont went in the evening to see the emperor at Fontainebleau.* He supped with

* THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

Art. 1. The corps of the marshals the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa (Mortier and Marmont) will evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at seven in the morning.

Art. 2. They will carry away with them arms and baggage, and the *matériel* of their army.

Art. 3. Hostilities are not to recommence until two hours after the evacuation of Paris, *i. e.* not till nine o'clock in the morning of the 3d of May.

Art. 4. All the arsenals, manufactories of arms, military edifices, and magazines will remain in the state they were found in immediately before this capitulation.

Art. 5. The national or urban militia is entirely separated from the troops of

him. Napoleon praised his defence of Paris. After supper the marshal rejoined his corps at Essonne, and, six hours after, the emperor arrived there to visit the lines. On leaving Paris, Marmont had left Colonels Fabvier and Denys to direct the execution of the capitulation. These officers joined the emperor and the marshal as they were proceeding up the banks of the river of Essonne. They did not disguise the effect which the entrance of the allies had produced in Paris. At this intelligence the emperor was deeply mortified, and he returned immediately to Fontainebleau, leaving the marshal at Essonne.

At daybreak on the 31st of March, Paris presented a novel and curious spectacle. No sooner had the French troops evacuated the capital, than the principal streets resounded with cries of "Down with Bonaparte!"—"No conscription!"—"No consolidated duties (*droits réunis*)!" With these cries were mingled that of "The Bourbons for ever!" but this latter cry was not repeated so frequently as the others: in general I remarked that the people gaped and listened with a sort of indifference. As I had taken a very active part in all that had happened during some preceding days, I was particularly curious to study what might be called the physiognomy of Paris. This was the second opportunity which had offered itself for such a study, and I now saw the people applaud the fall of the man whom they had received with enthusiasm after the 18th Brumaire. The reason was, that liberty was then hoped for, as it was hoped for in 1814. I went out early in the morning to see the numerous groups of people who had assembled in the streets. I saw women tearing their handkerchiefs, and distributing the fragments as the emblems of the revived lily. That same morning I met on the Boulevards, and some hours afterwards on the Place Louis XV., a party of gentlemen who paraded the streets of the capital proclaiming the restoration of the Bourbons and shouting, "Vive le Roi!" and "Vive Louis XVIII.!" At

the line. It will be maintained, disarmed, or dismissed as the allied sovereigns shall think necessary.

Art. 6. The corps of the municipal gendarmerie will share in all things the destiny of the national guards.

Art. 7. The wounded and marauders who are found in Paris seven hours after, will be made prisoners of war.

Art. 8. The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the high allies.

Done at Paris the 31st of March, 1814, at two o'clock in the morning.

(Signed)

The Colonel Count ORLOFF,

Aide-de-camp of H. M. the Emperor of Russia.

The Colonel Count PAAR,

Aide-de-camp general of H. E. the Field-marshal Prince of Schwartzemberg.

The Colonel FABVIER,

Attached to the staff of H. E. the Marshal Duke of Treviso.

The Colonel DENYS,

First aide-de-camp of H. E. the Marshal Duke of Ragusa.

Editor.

their head I recognised MM. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld, Count de Froissard, the Duke de Luxembourg, the Duke de Crussol, Seymour, &c. The cavalcade distributed white cockades in passing along, and was speedily joined by a numerous crowd who repaired to the Place Vendome. The scene that was acted there is well known, and the enthusiasm of popular joy could scarcely excuse the fury that was directed against the effigy of the man whose misfortunes, whether merited or not, should have protected him from such outrages.* These excesses served, perhaps, more than is generally supposed, to favour the plans of the leaders of the royalist party, to whom M. Nesselrode had declared, that before he would pledge himself to second their views, he must have proofs that they were seconded by the population of Paris.

I was afterwards informed by an eyewitness of what took place on the evening of the 31st of March in one of the principal meetings of the royalists, which was held in the hotel of the Count de Morfontaine, who acted as president on the occasion. Amidst a chaos of abortive propositions and contradictory motions, M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld proposed that a deputation should be immediately sent to the Emperor Alexander to express to him the wish of the meeting. This motion was immediately approved, and the mover was chosen to head the deputation. On leaving the hotel, the deputation met M. de Chateaubriand, who had that very day been, as it were, the precursor of the restoration, by publishing his admirable manifesto, entitled "Bonaparte and the Bourbons." He was invited to join the deputation: but nothing could overcome his diffidence and induce him to speak. On arriving at the hotel in the Rue Saint-Florentine, the deputation was introduced to Count Nesselrode, to whom M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld briefly explained its object; he spoke of the wishes of the meeting, and of the manifest desire of Paris and of France. He represented the restoration of the Bourbons as the only means of securing the peace of Europe; and observed, in conclusion, that as the exertions of the day must have been very fatiguing to the emperor, the deputation would not solicit the favour of being introduced to him; but would confidently rely on the good faith of his imperial majesty. "I have just left the emperor," replied M. Nesselrode, "and can pledge myself for his intentions. Return to the meeting, and announce to the French people, that in compliance with their wishes, his imperial majesty will use all his influence to restore the crown to the legitimate monarch: his Majesty, Louis XVIII., shall reascend the throne of France." With this gratifying intelligence, the deputation returned to the meeting in the Rue d'Anjou.

* Among other things the people dragged down from the triumphal column in the Place Vendome, the statue of Napoleon.—*Editor.*

There is no question that great enthusiasm was displayed on the entrance of the allies into Paris. It may be praised or blamed; but the fact cannot be denied. I closely watched all that was passing, and I observed the expression of a sentiment which I had long anticipated, when, after his alliance with the daughter of the Cæsars, the ambition of Bonaparte increased in proportion as it was gratified: I clearly foresaw Napoleon's fall. Whoever watched the course of events during the four last years of the empire, must have observed, as I did, that from the date of Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa, the forms of the French government became daily more and more tyrannical and oppressive. The intolerable height which this evil had attained is evident from the circumstance, that at the end of 1813, the legislative body, throwing aside the mute character which it had hitherto maintained, presumed to give a lesson to him who had never before received a lesson from any one. On the 31st of March, it was recollected what had been the conduct of Bonaparte on the occasion alluded to, and those of the deputies who remained in Paris, related how the gendarmes had opposed their entrance into the hall of the assembly. All this contributed wonderfully to irritate the public mind against Napoleon. He had become master of France by the sword, and the sword being sheathed, his power was at an end; for no popular institution identified with the nation the new dynasty which he hoped to found. The nation admired, but did not love Napoleon; for it is impossible to love what is feared, and he had done nothing to claim the affections of France.

I was present at all the meetings and conferences which were held at M. de Talleyrand's hotel, where the Emperor Alexander had taken up his residence. Of all the persons present at these meetings, M. de Talleyrand was most disposed to retain Napoleon at the head of the government, with restrictions on the exercise of his power. In the existing state of things, it was only possible to choose one of three courses: first, to make peace with Napoleon, with the adoption of proper securities against him; second, to establish a regency; and third, to recal the Bourbons.

On the 13th of March, I witnessed the entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris; and after the procession had passed the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, I repaired straight to M. de Talleyrand's hotel, which I reached before the Emperor Alexander, who arrived at a quarter past one. When his imperial majesty entered M. de Talleyrand's drawing-room, most of the persons assembled, and particularly the Abbé de Pradt, the Abbé de Montesquiou, and General Dessolles, urgently demanded the restoration of the Bourbons. The emperor did not come to any immediate decision. Drawing me into the embrasure of a window, which looked to the street, he made some observations,

which enabled me to guess what would be his determination:—"M. de Bourrienne," said he, "you have been the friend of Napoleon, and so have I. I was his sincere friend; but there is no possibility of remaining at peace with a man of such bad faith. We must have done with him." These last words opened my eyes; and when the different propositions which were made came under discussion, I saw plainly that Bonaparte, in making himself emperor, had made up the bed for the Bourbons.

A discussion ensued on the three possible measures which I have above mentioned, and which were proposed by the Emperor Alexander himself. I thought, if I may so express myself, that his majesty was playing a part, when, pretending to doubt the possibility of recalling the Bourbons, which he wished above all things, he asked M. de Talleyrand what means he proposed to employ for the attainment of that object? Besides the French, there were present at this meeting, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzberg, M. Nesselrode, M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, and Prince Lichtenstein. During the discussion, Alexander walked about with some appearance of agitation:—"Gentlemen," said he, addressing us in an elevated tone of voice, "you know that it was not I who commenced the war; you know that Napoleon came to attack me in my dominions. But we are not drawn here by the thirst of conquest, or the desire of revenge. You have seen the precautions I have taken to preserve your capital, the wonder of the arts, from the horrors of pillage, to which the chances of war would have consigned it.* Neither my allies nor myself are engaged in a war of reprisals; and I should be inconsolable if any violence were committed on your magnificent city. We are not waging war against France; but against Napoleon, and the enemies of French liberty. William, and you Prince (here the emperor turned towards the King of Prussia and Prince Schwartzberg, who represented the Emperor of Austria), you can both bear testimony that the sentiments I express are yours." Both bowed assent to this observation of Alexander, which his majesty several times repeated in different words. He insisted that France should be perfectly free; and declared, that as soon as the wishes of the country were understood, he and his allies would support them, without seeking to favour any particular government.

The Abbé de Pradt then declared, in a tone of conviction, that we were all royalists, and that the sentiments of France

* One day the Emperor Alexander said, "History will record that Napoleon visited my capital, and that I have visited *his*." The contrast between the fate of Moscow, and that of Paris, was indeed striking, and calculated to flatter Alexander. In 1814, however, Paris was treated much too mildly, and this treatment was not attributed by the French to the mildness but to the *fears* of the allies.—*Editor*.

concurred with ours. The Emperor Alexander, adverting to the different governments which might be suitable to France, spoke of the maintenance of Bonaparte on the throne, the establishment of a regency, the choice of Bernadotte, and the recal of the Bourbons. M. de Talleyrand next spoke, and I well remember his saying to the Emperor of Russia, "Sire, only one of two things is possible. We must either have Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Bonaparte, if you can support him; but you cannot, for you are not alone. . . . We will not have another soldier in his stead. If we want a soldier, we will keep the one we have; he is the first in the world. After him any other who may be proposed, would not have ten men to support him. I say again, Sire, either Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Any thing else is an intrigue." These remarkable words of the Prince de Benevento, produced on the mind of Alexander all the effect we could hope for. Thus, the question was simplified; that is to say, it became twofold instead of threefold; and, as it was evident that Alexander would have nothing to do with either Napoleon or his family, it was reduced to the single proposition of the restoration of the Bourbons. On being pressed by us all, with the exception of M. de Talleyrand, who still wished to leave the question undecided between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII., Alexander at length declared, that he would no longer treat with Napoleon. When it was represented to him that that declaration referred only to Napoleon personally, and did not extend to his family: he added, "Nor with any member of his family." Thus, as early as the 31st of March, the restoration of the Bourbons might be considered as decided. Of all the propositions which were then agitated, the most mischievous appeared to me that which would have for its object a regency. In that hypothesis, every thing would have been kept in suspense.

At the close of the meeting, the Emperor Alexander signed the following declaration:

If the conditions of peace required strong guarantees, when the object was to restrain the ambition of Bonaparte, they ought to be more favourable when, by a return to a wise government, France herself shall offer the assurance of repose. The sovereigns proclaim, that they will no longer treat with Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family. They respect the integrity of the French territory, as it existed under the legitimate monarchy: they may even go further, since they adopt the principle that France must be great and powerful. They will recognise and guarantee any constitution of which the French nation may make choice. They consequently invite the senate immediately to appoint a provisional government, to manage the business of the state, and to prepare the constitution which may be agreeable to the wishes of the people. The sentiments herein expressed are shared by all the allied powers.

I cannot omit mentioning the hurry with which Laborie, whom

M. de Talleyrand appointed secretary to the provisional government, rushed out of the apartment as soon as he got possession of the Emperor Alexander's declaration. He got it printed with such expedition, that in the space of an hour it was posted on all the walls in Paris; and it certainly produced an extraordinary effect. As yet nothing warranted a doubt that Alexander would not abide by his word. The treaty of Paris could not be anticipated; and there was reason to believe that France, with a new government, would obtain more advantageous conditions, than if the allies had treated with Napoleon. But this illusion speedily vanished.

On the evening of the 31st of March, I returned to M. de Talleyrand's. I again saw the Emperor Alexander, who, stepping up to me, said, "M. de Bourrienne, you must take the superintendence of the post-office department." I could not decline this precise invitation on the part of the emperor; and besides, Lavalette having departed on the preceding day, the business would have been, for a time, suspended; a circumstance which would have been extremely prejudicial to the restoration which we wished to favour.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1814.

Composition of the provisional government—Mistake respecting the conduct of the Emperor of Austria—Caulaincourt's mission from Napoleon—His interview with the Emperor Alexander—Alexander's address to the deputation of the senate—M. de Caulaincourt ordered to quit the capital—Situation of Bonaparte during the events of the 30th and 31st of March—His arrival at Fontainebleau—Plan of attacking Paris—Arrival of troops at Fontainebleau—The Emperor's address to the guard—Forfeiture pronounced by the senate—Letters to Marmont—Correspondence between Marmont and Schwartzberg—Macdonald informed of the occupation of Paris—Conversation between the emperor and Macdonald at Fontainebleau—Beurnonville's letter—Abdication on condition of a regency—Napoleon's wish to retract his act of abdication—Macdonald, Ney, and Caulaincourt sent to Paris—Marmont released from his promise by Prince Schwartzberg.

THE most important point to be obtained from the Emperor Alexander, was the declaration noticed in the preceding chapter. After that it was obvious that all the rest would naturally follow. A provisional government was established, of which M. de Talleyrand was appointed president. The other members were General Beurnonville, Count François de Jaucourt, the Duke Dalberg, who had married one of Maria Louisa's ladies of honour, and the Abbé de Montesquiou. The place of chancellor of the Legion of Honour was given to the Abbé de Pradt. Thus there were two abbés among the members of the provisional govern-

ment, and by a singular chance they happened to be the same who had officiated at the mass which was performed in the Champ de Mars on the day of the first federation.

Those who were dissatisfied with the events of the 31st of March, now saw no hope but in the possibility that the Emperor of Austria would separate from his allies, or at least not make common cause with them in favour of the re-establishment of the Bourbons. But that monarch had been brought up in the old policy of his family, and was imbued with the traditional principles of his cabinet. I know for a fact that the sentiments and intentions of the Emperor of Austria perfectly coincided with those of his allies. Anxious to ascertain the truth on this subject, I ventured, when in conversation with the Emperor Alexander, to hint at the reports I had heard relative to the cause of the Emperor of Austria's absence. I do not recollect the precise words of his majesty's answer, but it enabled me to infer with certainty that Francis II. was in no way averse to the overthrow of his son-in-law, and that his absence from the scene of the discussions was only occasioned by a feeling of delicacy natural enough in his situation.

Caulaincourt, who was sent by Napoleon to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander, arrived there on the night of the 30th of March. He, however, did not obtain an interview with the emperor until after his majesty had received the municipal council of Paris, at the head of which was M. de Chabrol. At first Alexander appeared somewhat surprised to see the municipal council, which he did not receive exactly in the way that was expected; but this coldness was merely momentary, and he afterwards addressed the council in a very gracious way, though he dropped no hint of his ulterior objects.

Alexander, who entertained a personal regard for Caulaincourt, received him kindly in his own character, but not as the envoy of Napoleon:—"You have come too late," said the emperor. "It is all over. I can say nothing to you at present. Go to Paris, and I will see you there." These words perfectly enlightened Caulaincourt as to the result of his mission. His next interview with the Emperor Alexander at M. de Talleyrand's, did not take place until after the declaration noticed in my last chapter. The emperor had besides dropped observations which pretty clearly indicated his wishes. Even admitting that Alexander had no fixed determination relative to the restoration of the house of Bourbon, is it possible to deny his project of changing the dynasty of France? * On Caulaincourt's audience with

* At this period the language of Alexander was consistent and unvarying. To the deputation from the senate, who presented the list of the individuals composing the provisional government, he said, "A man calling himself my ally, came to my dominions as an unjust aggressor. I make war against him, and not against France. I am the friend of the French people, and what they have done increases my friendly sentiments. It is just, it is wise, to give to France powerful and liberal institutions in unison with the spirit of the age. My allies and I came only to protect your decisions."

the Emperor Alexander, he was not ignorant of the sentiments of the monarch, nor of the words he had uttered. The conversation they had together remained a secret, for neither Alexander nor the Duke of Vicenza mentioned it; but there was reason to infer from some words which fell from the Emperor Alexander, that he had received Caulaincourt rather as a private man* than as the ambassador of Napoleon, whose power, indeed, he could not recognise after his declaration. The provisional government was not entirely pleased with Caulaincourt's presence in Paris, and a representation was made to the Russian emperor on the subject. Alexander concurred in the opinion of the provisional government, which was expressed through the medium of the Abbé de Pradt. He therefore enjoined M. de Caulaincourt to quit Paris, declaring that the allies had no reply to make to the communications with which the Emperor Napoleon might have intrusted him. M. de Caulaincourt, therefore, returned to the emperor, who was then at Fontainebleau.

On the morning of the 30th of March, while the battle before the walls of Paris was at its height, Bonaparte was still at Troyes. He quitted that town at ten o'clock, accompanied only by Bertrand, Caulaincourt, two aides-de-camp and two orderly officers. He was not more than two hours in travelling the first ten leagues, and he and his feeble escort performed the journey without changing horses, and without even alighting. They arrived at Sens at one o'clock in the afternoon. Every thing was in such confusion, that it was impossible to prepare a suitable mode of conveyance for the emperor. He was therefore obliged to content himself with a wretched cariole, and in this equipage, about four in the morning, he reached Froidmanteau, about four leagues from Paris. It was there that the emperor

* The following account confirms the statements made by Bourrienne:

"The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia dined on the 31st, incognito, with M. de Talleyrand. The latter was some time before he took his decision; but he did it in the end in a most decided manner. The proclamation directing the formation of a provisional government was hardly sufficiently known at this juncture to judge of its effects. M. de Talleyrand was to be at the head of this government. M. Barthelemy, the Duc d'Alberg, and some others were to be members. M. de Caulaincourt was at Paris during the battle of the 30th. The following morning he came out, certainly in a most unaccountable manner, to the Emperor of Russia at Bondy, with the deputation from the municipality, who presented themselves to make arrangements for the occupation of the town. I was sorry that the emperor thought proper to receive M. de Caulaincourt. At the interview I learned that he declared he would sign the Châtillon project, or any other immediately. No answer was given to this offer. He then stated that he did not come in the character of minister of foreign affairs, but as one of the municipality of Paris. Prince Schwartzberg afterwards saw him. It seemed that M. de Talleyrand, who was personally a friend of M. de Caulaincourt, had been endeavouring to keep him with the party of the new government, and to make him remain at Paris, as he was considered a man of considerable influence and interest, and amiable and well-meaning, in regard to promoting a peace."—*Lord Londonderry's Narrative of the War in Germany and France in 1813 and 1814.*

received from General Belliard, who arrived at the head of a column of artillery, the first intelligence of the battle of Paris. He heard the news with an air of composure, which was probably affected, to avoid discouraging those about him. He walked for about a quarter of an hour on the high-road, and it was after that promenade that he sent Caulaincourt to Paris. Napoleon afterwards went to the house of the postmaster, where he ordered his maps to be brought to him, and, according to custom, marked the different positions of the enemy's troops with pins, the heads of which were touched with wax of different colours. Napoleon next repaired to Fontainebleau, where he arrived at six in the morning. He did not order the great apartments of the castle to be opened, but went up to his favourite little apartment, where he shut himself up, and remained alone during the whole of the 31st of March.*

In the evening the emperor sent for the Duke de Ragusa, who had just arrived at Essonne with his troops. The duke reached Fontainebleau between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 1st of April. Napoleon then received a detailed account of the events of the 30th from Marmont, on whose gallant conduct before Paris he bestowed much praise.

All was gloom and melancholy at Fontainebleau, yet the emperor still retained his authority, and I have been informed that he deliberated for some time as to whether he should retire behind the Loire, or immediately hazard a bold stroke upon Paris, which would have been much more to his taste than to resign himself to the chances which an uncertain temporizing might bring about. This latter thought pleased him; and he was seriously considering of his plan of attack when the news of the 31st, and the unsuccessful issue of Caulaincourt's mission, gave him to understand that his situation was more desperate than he had hitherto imagined.

Meanwhile, the heads of the columns, which the emperor had left at Troyes, arrived on the 1st of April at Fontainebleau. The troops having marched fifty leagues in less than three days, one of the most rapid marches ever performed. On the 2d of April, Napoleon communicated the events of Paris to the generals who were about him, recommending them to conceal the news lest it should dispirit the troops upon whom he yet relied. That day, during an inspection of the troops, which took place in the court of the palace, Bonaparte assembled the officers of his guard, and harangued them as follows:

Soldiers! the enemy has stolen three marches upon us, and has made himself master of Paris. We must drive him thence. Frenchmen, unworthy of the name, emigrants whom we have pardoned, have mounted the white cockade, and joined the enemy. The wretches

* This little apartment is situated on the first story, parallel with what is called the gallery of Francis I., where Monaldeschi was murdered by order of Queen Christina of Sweden.

shall receive the reward due to this new crime. Let us swear to conquer or die, and to enforce respect to the tri-coloured cockade, which has for twenty years accompanied us on the path of glory and honour.

He also endeavoured to induce the generals to second his mad designs upon Paris, by making them believe that he had made sincere efforts to conclude peace. He assured them that he had expressed to the Emperor Alexander his willingness to purchase it by sacrifices; that he had consented to resign even the conquests made during the revolution, and to confine himself within the old limits of France. "Alexander," added Napoleon, "refused; and not content with that refusal he has leagued himself with a party of emigrants, whom, perhaps, I was wrong in pardoning for having borne arms against France. Through their perfidious insinuations, Alexander has permitted the white cockade to be mounted in the capital. We will maintain ours, and in a few days we will march upon Paris. I rely on you."

When the boundless attachment of the guards to the emperor is considered, it cannot appear surprising that these last words, uttered in an impressive tone, should have produced a feeling of enthusiasm, almost electrical, in all to whom they were addressed. The old companions of the glory of their chief exclaimed with one voice, "Paris! Paris!" But, fortunately, during the night, the generals having deliberated with each other, saw the frightful abyss into which they were about to precipitate France. They therefore resolved to intimate in moderate terms to the emperor, that they would not expose Paris to destruction; so that on the 3d of April, prudent ideas succeeded the inconsiderate enthusiasm of the preceding day.*

* Desperate efforts were making in the capital to effect a rising *en masse* of the populace in favour of Bonaparte. Had these efforts succeeded, Paris would have been bombarded, and possibly left as miserable a heap of ruins as Moscow had been two years before. But the burghers, artisans, and even the mere mob, were not disposed for such extremities.

"Paris was now quite tranquil; and notwithstanding several of Bonaparte's emissaries were in the city endeavouring to work on the people, with money and promises, to rise on the allies, no instance of disorder occurred.

"So much did M. de Caulaincourt at length despair of the possibility of Bonaparte's return, that he sounded M. de Talleyrand, the Duc d'Alberg, as to the intention of the allies with regard to his emperor's future lot, as he considered him a lost man. The senate met to deliberate and to pronounce their decision; but since the declaration of the Emperor Alexander, in the name of the allies, they had but one course to adopt, which was to declare Bonaparte *hors de la loi*.

"The national guards, who had been commanded by Marshal Moncey, were without a leader, he having fled. Count Montmorency remained, and what part he would take was yet uncertain. The brother-in-law of the late General Moreau was mentioned as likely to be placed at the head of the national guards; but hitherto every arrangement was necessarily incomplete.

"A report now arrived, by a letter from Toulouse, of a great battle having been fought on the 23d ult. between Lord Wellington and Marshal Soult, in which the latter had been completely defeated, and driven into Toulouse, with only one piece of artillery left.

The wreck of the army assembled at Fontainebleau, which was the remnant of a million of troops, levied during fifteen months, consisted only of the corps of the Duke de Reggio, Ney, Macdonald, and General Gerard, which altogether did not amount to twenty-five thousand men, and which joined to the remaining seven thousand of the guard, did not leave the emperor a disposable force of more than thirty-two thousand men. Nothing but madness or despair could have suggested the thought of subduing, with such scanty resources, the foreign masses which occupied and surrounded Paris.

On the 2d of April, the senate published a *senatus consultum*, declaring that Napoleon had forfeited the throne, and abolishing the right of succession, which had been established in favour of his family. Furnished with this act, and without awaiting the concurrence of the legislative body, which was given next day, the provisional government published an address to the French armies. In this address the troops were informed that they were no longer the soldiers of Napoleon, and that the senate released them from their oaths. These documents were widely circulated at the time, and inserted in all the public journals.

The address of the senate was sent round to the marshals, and was of course first delivered to those who were nearest the capital; of this latter number was Marmont, whose allegiance to the emperor, as we have already seen, yielded only to the sacred interests of his country. Montessuis was directed by the provisional government to convey the address to Marmont, and to use such arguments as were calculated to strengthen those sentiments which had triumphed over his dearest personal affections. I gave Montessuis a letter to Marmont, in which I said—

The bearer will convey to you the remembrances of our friendship. He will, I trust, influence your resolution: a single word will suffice to induce you to sacrifice all for the happiness of your country. To

"The decision of the senate, who met on the 1st of April, declared, that as Napoleon Bonaparte had deserted the government of France, they felt themselves called upon to choose another chief; and that they were unanimous in calling to the throne their legitimate sovereign, Louis XVIII.

"The management of every new measure undoubtedly lay with the Emperor of Russia, and the confidential cabinet which he had formed. * * * * * In an incidental conversation I had with M. de Talleyrand at this period, he told me that steps were taking to communicate with all the French troops and fortresses. He believed strongly in a movement among the troops favourable to the new order of things. Marmont and Lefebvre were the marshals who it was thought would declare first. On the other hand it was said Bonaparte had an immense number of emissaries in Paris. M. Girardin, Marshal Berthier's aide-de-camp, was in the city with large sums of money at his disposal: some hundreds of the old guard had been introduced into Paris to head an insurrection, and Bonaparte was determined, at any risk, *de se faire jour dans Paris*."

"These various histories amused the alarmists of the day; but an excessive tranquillity and even indifference reigned around."—*Lord Londonderry's Narrative.* (Editor.)

secure that object, you, who are so good a Frenchman, and so loyal a knight, will not fear either dangers or obstacles. Your friends expect you, long for you, and I trust will soon embrace you.

Montessuis also took one from General Dessolles, whom the provisional government had appointed governor of the national guard in the room of Marshal Moncey, who had left Paris on the occupation of the allies. General Dessolles and I did not communicate to each other our correspondence; but when I afterwards saw the letter of Dessolles, I could not help remarking the coincidence of our appeal to Marmont's patriotism. Prince Schwartzberg also wrote to Marmont, to induce him to espouse a cause which had now become the cause of France. To the prince's letter Marmont replied, that he was disposed to concur in the union of the army and the people, which would avert all chance of civil war, and stop the effusion of French blood; and that he was ready with his troops to quit the army of the Emperor Napoleon on the following conditions, the assurance of which he required in writing:

1st. I, Charles Prince Schwartzberg, marshal and commander-in-chief of the allied armies, guarantee to all the French troops who, in consequence of the decree of the senate of the 2d of April, may quit the standard of Napoleon Bonaparte, that they shall retire freely into Normandy with arms, baggage, and ammunition, and with the same marks of respect and military honours which the allied troops reciprocally observe to each other.

2d. That if, by this movement, the chances of war should throw into the hands of the allied powers the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, his life and liberty shall be guaranteed in a space of territory and a circumscribed country, to be chosen by the allied powers and the French government.

Prince Schwartzberg, in his answer to Marmont, expressing his satisfaction at the marshal's readiness to obey the call of the provisional government, said, "I beg of you to believe, that I am fully sensible of the article which you demand, and which I accept, relative to the person of Napoleon."

After the correspondence between Marmont and Prince Schwartzberg, in which the latter acceded to all the conditions required by the former, Marmont was placed in circumstances which obliged him to request that he might be released from his promise.

I happened to learn the manner in which Marshal Macdonald was informed of the taking of Paris. He had been two days without any intelligence from the emperor, when he received an order in the handwriting of Berthier, couched in the following terms: "The emperor desires that you halt wherever you may receive this order." After Berthier's signature the following words were added as a postscript: "You, of course, know that

the enemy is in possession of Paris." When the emperor thus announced, with apparent negligence, an event which totally changed the face of affairs, I am convinced his object was to make the marshal believe that he looked upon that event as less important than it really was. However, this object was not attained; for I recollect having heard Macdonald say, that Berthier's singular postscript, and the tone of indifference in which it was expressed, filled him with mingled surprise and alarm. Marshal Macdonald then commanded the rear guard of the army which occupied the environs of Montreau. Six hours after the receipt of the order here referred to, Macdonald received a second order, directing him to put his troops in motion, and he learned the emperor's intention of marching on Paris with all his remaining force.

On receiving the emperor's second order, Macdonald left his corps at Montreau, and repaired in haste to Fontainebleau. When he arrived there, the emperor had already intimated to the generals, commanding divisions in the corps assembled at Fontainebleau, his design of marching on Paris. Alarmed at this determination, the generals, most of whom had left in the capital their wives, children, and friends, requested that Macdonald would go with them to wait upon Napoleon, and endeavour to dissuade him from his intention. "Gentlemen," said the marshal, "in the emperor's present situation, such a proceeding may displease him. It must be managed cautiously. Leave it to me, gentlemen, I will go to the castle."

Marshal Macdonald accordingly went to the palace of Fontainebleau, where the following conversation ensued between him and the emperor, and I beg the reader to bear in mind, that it was related to me by the marshal himself. As soon as he entered the apartment in which Napoleon was, the latter stepped up to him, and said, "Well, how are things going on?"—"Very badly, sire."—"How? . . . badly! . . . What then are the feelings of your army?"—"My army, sire, is entirely discouraged . . . appalled by the events of Paris."—"Will not your troops join me in an advance on Paris?"—"Sire, do not think of such a thing. If I were to give such an order to my troops, I should run the risk of being disobeyed."—"But what is to be done? I cannot remain as I am; I have yet resources and partisans. It is said that the allies will no longer treat with me. Well! no matter. I will march on Paris. I will be revenged on the inconstancy of the Parisians, and the baseness of the senate. Woe to the members of the government they have patched up for the return of their Bourbons; that is what they are looking forward to. But to-morrow I shall place myself at the head of my guards, and we will march on the Tuileries."

During all this vapouring, the marshal listened in silence; and when at length Napoleon became somewhat calm, the marshal observed, "Sire, it appears then that you are not

aware of what has taken place in Paris; of the establishment of a provisional government, and”—“I know it all: and what then?”—“Sire,” added the marshal, presenting a paper to Napoleon, “here is something which will tell you more than I can.” Macdonald then presented to him a letter from Marshal Beurnonville, announcing the forfeiture of the emperor, pronounced by the senate, and the determination of the allied powers not to treat with Napoleon, or any member of his family.—“Marshal,” said the emperor, before he opened the letter, “may this be read aloud?”—“Certainly, sire.” The letter was then handed to Barré, who read it. An individual, who was present on the occasion, described to me the impression which the reading of the letter produced on Napoleon. His countenance exhibited that violent contraction of the features which I have often remarked when his mind was disturbed. However, he did not lose his self-command, which indeed never forsook him when policy or vanity required that he should retain it; and when the reading of Beurnonville’s letter was ended, he affected to persist in his intention of marching on Paris. “Sire,” exclaimed Macdonald, “that plan must be renounced. Not a sword would be unsheathed to second you in such an enterprise.”

After this conversation between the emperor and Macdonald, the question of the abdication began to be seriously thought of. Caulaincourt had already hinted to Napoleon, that in case of his abdicating personally, there was a possibility of inducing the allies to agree to a council of regency. Napoleon then determined to sign the act of abdication, which he himself drew up in the following terms:

The allied powers having decided that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France, and even to lay down his life for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the regency of the empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the empire. Given at our palace of Fontainebleau, April 2, 1814.

NAPOLEON.

After having written this act, the emperor presented it to the marshals, saying, “Here, gentlemen! are you satisfied?”

This abdication of Napoleon was certainly very useless; but in case of any thing occurring to render it a matter of importance, the act might have proved entirely illusory. Its meaning might appear unequivocal to the generality of people, but not to me, who was so well initiated in the cunning to which Napoleon could resort when it suited his purpose. It is necessary to observe, that Napoleon does not say that “he descends from the throne,” but that “he is *ready* to descend from the

throne." This was a subterfuge, by the aid of which he intended to open new negotiations respecting the form and conditions of the regency of his son, in case of the allied sovereigns acceding to that proposition. This would have afforded the means of gaining time.

He had not yet resigned all hope, and therefore he joyfully received a piece of intelligence communicated to him by General Allix. The general informed the emperor that he had met an Austrian officer, who was sent by Francis II. to Prince Schwarzenberg, and who positively assured him that all which had taken place in Paris was contrary to the wish of the Emperor of Austria. That this may have been the opinion of the officer is possible, and even probable. But it is certain from the issue of a mission of the Duke de Cadore, of which I shall presently speak, that the officer expressed merely his own personal opinion. However, as soon as General Allix had communicated this good news, as he termed it, to Napoleon, the latter exclaimed to the persons who were about him, "I told you so, gentlemen. Francis II. cannot carry his enmity so far as to dethrone his daughter. Vicenza, go and desire the marshals to return my act of abdication. I will send a courier to the Emperor of Austria."

Thus Bonaparte, in his shipwreck, looked round for a saving plank, and tried to nurse himself in illusions. The Duke de Vicenza went to Marshals Ney and Macdonald, whom he found just stepping into a carriage to proceed to Paris. Both positively refused to return the act to Caulaincourt, saying, "We are sure of the concurrence of the Emperor of Austria, and we take every thing upon ourselves." The result proved that they were better informed than General Allix.

During the conversation with Marshal Macdonald, which has just been described, the emperor was seated. When he came to the resolution of signing the abdication, he rose, and walked once or twice up and down his cabinet. After he had written and signed the act, he said, "Gentlemen, the interests of my son, the interests of the army, and above all, the interests of France, must be defended. I therefore appoint as my commissioners to the allied powers, the Duke de Vicenza, the Prince of the Moskowa, and the Duke de Ragusa. . . Are you satisfied?" added he, after a pause. "I think these interests are consigned to good hands." All present answered, as with one voice, "Yes, sire." But no sooner was this answer pronounced, than the emperor threw himself upon a small yellow sofa, which stood near the window, and striking his thigh with his hand, with a sort of convulsive motion, he exclaimed, "No, gentlemen: I will have no regency! With my guards, and Marmont's corps, I shall be in Paris to-morrow." Ney and Macdonald vainly endeavoured to undeceive him respecting this impracticable design. He rose with marked ill-humour, and rubbing his head, as he

was in the habit of doing when agitated, he said, in a loud and authoritative tone, "Retire."

The marshals withdrew, and Napoleon was left alone with Caulaincourt. He told the latter that what had most displeased him in the proceedings which had just taken place, was the reading of Beurnonville's letter. "Sire," observed the Duke de Vicenza, "it was by your order that the letter was read."—"That is true. . . . But why was it not addressed directly to me by Macdonald?"—"Sire, the letter was at first addressed to Marshal Macdonald; but the aide-de-camp who was the bearer of it had orders to communicate its contents to Marmont, on passing through Essonne, because Beurnonville did not precisely know where Macdonald would be found." After this brief explanation, the emperor appeared satisfied, and he said to Caulaincourt, "Vicenza, call back Macdonald."

The Duke de Vicenza hastened after the marshal, whom he found at the end of the gallery of the palace, and he brought him back to the emperor. When Macdonald returned to the cabinet, the emperor's warmth had entirely subsided, and he said to him with great composure, "Well, Duke de Taranto, do you think that the regency is the only possible thing?"—"Yes, sire."—"Then I wish you to go with Ney to the Emperor Alexander, instead of Marmont; it is better that he should remain with his corps, to which his presence is indispensable. You will therefore go with Ney. I rely on you. I hope you have entirely forgotten all that has separated us for so long a time."—"Yes, sire, I have not thought of it since 1809."—"I am glad of it, Marshal, and I must acknowledge to you that I was in the wrong." While speaking to the marshal, the emperor manifested unusual emotion. He approached him, and pressed his hand in the most affectionate way.

The emperor's three commissioners, that is to say, Marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the Duke de Vicenza, informed Marmont that they would dine with him as they passed through Essonne, and would acquaint him with all that had happened at Fontainebleau. On their arrival at Essonne, the three imperial commissioners explained to the Duke de Ragusa the object of their mission, and persuaded him to accompany them to the Emperor Alexander. This obliged the marshal to inform them how he was situated. The negotiations which Marmont had opened, and almost concluded, with Prince Schwartzberg, were rendered null by the mission which he had joined, and which it was necessary he should himself explain to the commander of the Austrian army. The three marshals and the Duke de Vicenza repaired to Petitbourg, the head-quarters of Prince Schwartzberg, and there the prince released Marmont from the promise he had given.

CHAPTER XXX.

1814.

Unexpected receipts in the post-office department—Arrival of Napoleon's commissioners at M. de Talleyrand's—Conference of the marshals with Alexander—Alarming news from Essonne—Marmont's courage—The white cockade and the tri-coloured cockade—A successful stratagem—Three governments in France—The Duke de Cadore sent by Maria Louisa to the Emperor of Austria—Maria Louisa's proclamation to the French people—Interview between the Emperor of Austria and the Duke de Cadore—The emperor's protestation of friendship for Napoleon—M. Metternich and M. Stadion—Maria Louisa's departure for Orleans—Blucher's visit to me—Audience of the King of Prussia—His majesty's reception of Berthier, Clarke, and myself—Bernadotte in Paris—Cross of the Polar Star presented to me by Bernadotte.

AFTER my nomination as director-general of the post-office, the business of that department proceeded as regularly as before. Having learned that a great many intercepted letters had been thrown aside, I sent, on the 4th of April, an advertisement to the *Moniteur*, stating, that the letters to and from England and other foreign countries, which had been lying at the post-office for more than three years, would be forwarded to their respective addresses. This produced to the post-office a receipt of nearly three hundred thousand francs; a fact which may afford an idea of the enormous number of intercepted letters.

On the night after the publication of the advertisement, I was awakened by an express from the provisional government, by which I was requested to proceed with all possible haste to M. de Talleyrand's hotel. I rose, and I set off immediately, and I got there some minutes before the arrival of the emperor's commissioners. I went up to the saloon on the first floor, which was one of the suite of apartments occupied by the Emperor Alexander. The marshals retired to confer with the monarch; and it would be difficult to describe the anxiety, or I may rather say, consternation which, during their absence, prevailed among some of the members of the provisional government, and other persons assembled in the saloon where I was.

While the marshals were with Alexander, I learned that they had previously conversed with M. de Talleyrand, who observed

to them, "If you succeed in your designs, you will commit all who have met in this hotel since the 1st of April, and the number is not small. For my part, take no account of me, I am willing to be committed." I had passed the evening of this day with M. de Talleyrand, who then observed to the Emperor Alexander in my presence, "Will you support Bonaparte? No, you neither can nor will. I have already had the honour to tell your majesty that we can have no choice but between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII.; any thing else would be an intrigue, and no intrigue can have power to support him who may be its object. Bernadotte, Eugène, the Regency, all those propositions result from intrigues. In present circumstances, nothing but a new principle is sufficiently strong to establish the new order of things which must be adopted. *Louis XVIII. is a principle.*"

None of the members of the provisional government were present at this conference, for no one was willing to appear to influence in any way the determination of the chief of the coalition, upon the subject of this important mission. General Dessolles alone, in quality of commander of the national guard of Paris, was requested to be present. At length the marshals entered the saloon where we were, and their appearance created a sensation which it is impossible to describe; but the expression of dissatisfaction which we thought we remarked in their countenances, restored the hopes of those who for some hours had been a prey to apprehensions. Macdonald, with his head elevated, and evidently under the influence of strong irritation, approached Beurnonville, and thus addressed him, in answer to a question which the latter had put to him:—"Speak not to me, sir, I have nothing to say to you. You have made me forget a friendship of thirty years!" Then turning to Dupont, "As for you, sir," he continued, in the same tone, "your conduct towards the emperor is not generous. I confess that he has treated you with severity, perhaps he may even have been unjust to you with respect to the affair of Baylen; but how long has it been the practice to avenge a personal wrong at the expense of one's country?"*

These remarks were made with such warmth, and in so elevated a tone of voice, that Caulaincourt thought it necessary to interfere, and said, "Do not forget, gentlemen, that this is the residence of the Emperor of Russia." At this moment M. de Talleyrand returned from the interview with the emperor, which he had had after the departure of the marshals, and approaching the group formed round Macdonald, "Gentlemen," said he, "if you wish to dispute and discuss, step down to my apartments."—"That would be useless," replied Macdonald, "my comrades

* The reader must remember that General Dupont, beaten by the Spaniards, surrendered, with 20,000 men, at Baylen, in Andalusia. This happened on the 18th of July, 1808.—*Editor.*

and I do not acknowledge the provisional government." The three marshals, Ney, Macdonald, and Marmont, then immediately retired with Caulaincourt, and went to Ney's hotel, there to await the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to give them after consulting the King of Prussia.

Such was this night-scene, which possessed more dramatic effect than many which are performed on the stage. In it all was real: on its denouement depended the political state of France, and the existence of all those who had already declared themselves in favour of the Bourbons. It is a remarkable fact, and one which affords a striking lesson to men who are tempted to sacrifice themselves for any political cause, that most of those who then demanded the restoration of the Bourbons at the peril of their lives, have successively fallen into a sort of disgrace.

When the marshals and Caulaincourt had retired, we were all anxious to know what had passed between them and the Emperor of Russia. I learned from Dessolles, who, as I have stated, was present at the conference, in his rank of commander of the national guard of Paris, that the marshals were unanimous in urging Alexander to accede to a regency. Macdonald especially supported that proposition with much warmth; and among the observations he made, I recollect Dessolles mentioning the following: "I am not authorized to treat in any way for the fate reserved for the emperor. We have full powers to treat for the regency, the army, and France; but the emperor has positively forbidden us to specify any thing personally regarding himself." Alexander merely replied, "That does not astonish me." The marshals then resuming the conversation, dwelt much on the respect which was due to the military glory of France. They strongly manifested their disinclination to abandon the family of a man who had so often led them to victory; and, lastly, they reminded the Emperor Alexander of his own declaration, in which he proclaimed in his own name, as well as on the part of his allies, that it was not their intention to impose on France any government whatever.

Dessolles, who had all along declared himself in favour of the Bourbons, in his turn entered into the discussion with as much warmth as the partisans of the regency. He represented to Alexander how many persons would be committed, for merely having acted, or declared their opinions, behind the shield of his promises. He repeated what Alexander had already been told, that the regency would, in fact, be nothing but Bonaparte in disguise. However, Dessolles acknowledged that such was the effect of Marshal Macdonald's powerful and persuasive eloquence, that Alexander seemed to waver, and unwilling to give the marshals a positive refusal, he had recourse to a subterfuge, by which he would be enabled to execute the design he had irrevocably formed, without seeming to take on himself alone the responsibility of a change of government. Dessolles

accordingly informed us, that Alexander at last gave the following answer to the marshals: "Gentlemen, I am not alone; in an affair of such importance, I must consult the King of Prussia, for I have promised to do nothing without consulting him. In a few hours you shall know my decision." It was this decision which the marshals went to wait for at Ney's.

Most of the members of the provisional government attributed the evasive reply of the Emperor Alexander to the influence of the speech of Dessolles. For my part, while I do justice to the manner in which he declared himself on this important occasion, I do not ascribe to his eloquence the power of fixing Alexander's resolution; for I well know by experience how easy it is to make princes appear to adopt the advice of any one, when the counsel given is precisely that which they wish to follow. From the sentiments of Alexander at this time I had not the slightest doubt as to the course he would finally pursue, and I considered what he said about consulting the King of Prussia to be a mere phrase of politeness, by which he avoided the disagreeable task of giving the marshals a direct refusal.

I therefore returned home, quite satisfied as to the result of the Emperor Alexander's visit to the King of Prussia. I knew, from the persons about the emperor, that he cherished a hatred, which was but too well justified, towards Bonaparte. Frederick William is of too firm a character to have yielded to any of the considerations which might on this subject have been pressed on him, as they had been on the Emperor of Russia. But, besides that the King of Prussia had legitimate reasons for disliking Napoleon, policy would at that time have required that he should appear to be his enemy; for to do so was to render himself popular with his subjects, who were then all imbued with the principles of liberty, and even with some ideas of Carbonarism, which had been propagated and diffused by Baron Stein and his disciples.* But the King of Prussia did not need to act under the dictates of policy; he followed his own opinion in rejecting the propositions of the marshals, which he did without hesitation, and with much energy.

While the marshals had gone to Paris, Bonaparte was anxious to ascertain whether his commissioners had passed the advanced posts of the foreign armies; and in case of resistance, he determined to march on Paris, for he could not believe that he had lost every chance. He sent an aide-de-camp to desire Marmont to come immediately to Fontainebleau: such was Napoleon's impatience, that instead of waiting for the return of his aide-de-camp, he sent off a second, and then a third officer, on the same errand. This rapid succession of envoys from the emperor

* Baron Stein has also noticed this accusation, in a way which intimates that he treats it very lightly. He begs of M. Bourrienne not to correct either it or the charge respecting La Sabla, vol. iii., p. 211, when he publishes his third edition.—*Editor*.

alarmed the generals who commanded the different divisions of Marmont's corps at Essonne. They feared that the emperor was aware of the convention concluded that morning with Prince Schwartzberg; and that he had sent for Marmont with the view of reprimanding him. The fact was, Napoleon knew nothing of the matter; for Marmont, on departing for Paris, with Macdonald and Ney, had left orders that it should be said he had gone to inspect his lines. Souham, Lebrun, Des Essarts, and Bordesaille, who had given their assent to the convention with Prince Schwartzberg, deliberated in the absence of Marmont, and perhaps being ignorant that he was released from his promise, and fearing the vengeance of Napoleon, they determined to march upon Versailles. On arriving there, the troops not finding the marshal at their head, thought themselves betrayed, and a spirit of insurrection broke out among them. One of Marmont's aides-de-camp, whom he had left at Essonne, exerted every endeavour to prevent the departure of his general's corps; but finding all his efforts unavailing, he hastened to Paris to inform the marshal of what had happened. When Marmont received this news, he was breakfasting at Ney's, with Macdonald and Caulaincourt: they were waiting for the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to send them. The march of his corps on Versailles threw Marmont into despair. He said to the marshals, "I must be off to join my corps, and quell this mutiny;" and without losing a moment, he ordered his carriage, and directed the coachman to drive with the utmost speed. He sent forward one of his aides-de-camp to inform the troops of his approach. Having arrived within a hundred paces of the place where his troops were assembled, he found the generals, who were under his orders, advancing to meet him. They urged him not to go further, as the men were in open insurrection. "I will go into the midst of them," said Marmont. "In a moment they shall either kill me, or acknowledge me as their chief." He sent off another aide-de-camp to range the troops in the order of battle. Then alighting from the carriage, and mounting a horse, he advanced alone, and thus harangued his troops: "How! Is there treason here? Is it possible that you disown me? Am I not your comrade? Have I not been wounded twenty times among you? . . . Have I not shared your fatigues and privations? And am I not ready to do so again?" . . . Here Marmont was interrupted by a general shout of "Vive le maréchal! Vive le maréchal!"

The alarm caused among the members of the provisional government, by the mission of the marshals, was increased by the news of the mutiny of Marmont's troops. During the whole of the day we were in a state of tormenting anxiety. It was feared that the insurrectionary spirit might spread among other corps of the army, and the cause of France again be endangered. But

the courage of Marmont saved every thing. It would be impossible to convey any idea of the manner in which he was received by us at Talleyrand's, when he related the particulars of what had occurred at Versailles.*

On the evening of the day on which Marmont had acted so nobly, it was proposed that the army should adopt the white cockade. In reply to this proposition, the marshal said, "Gentlemen, I have made my troops understand the necessity of serving France before all things. They have, consequently, returned to order, and I can now answer for them. But what I cannot answer for is, to induce them to abandon the colours which have led them to victory for the last twenty years. Therefore do not count upon me for a thing which I consider to be totally hostile to the interests of France. I will speak to the Emperor Alexander on the subject." Such were Marmont's words. Every one appeared to concur in his opinion, and the discussion terminated. For my own part, I find by my notes, that I declared myself strongly in favour of Marmont's proposition.

The marshal's opinion having been adopted, at least provisionally, an article was prepared for the *Moniteur*, in nearly the following terms :

The white cockade has been, during the last four days, a badge for the manifestation of public opinion in favour of the overthrow of an oppressive government : it has been the only means of distinguishing the partisans of the restoration of the old dynasty, to which, at length, we are to be indebted for repose. But as the late government is at an end, all colours differing from our national colours are useless : let us, therefore, resume those which have so often led us to victory.

Such was the spirit of the article, though possibly the above copy may differ in a few words. It met with the unqualified approbation of every one present. I was therefore extremely surprised, on looking at the *Moniteur* next day, to find that the article was not inserted. I knew not what courtly interference prevented the appearance of the article ; but I remember that Marmont was very ill pleased at its omission. He complained on the subject to the Emperor Alexander, who promised to write, and in fact did write to the provisional government to get the article inserted. However, it did not appear, and in a few days we obtained a solution of the enigma, as we might, perhaps, have done before if we had tried. The Emperor Alexander also promised to write to the Count d'Artois, and to inform him that the opinion of France was in favour of the preservation of the three colours ; but I do not know whether the letter was written, or if it was, what answer it received.

* Marshal Marmont's corps d'armée passed over to the allies on the 4th of April. Marmont was thus the first of the French generals to place himself under Louis XVIII.—*Editor*.

Marshal Jourdan, who was then at Ronen, received a letter, written without the knowledge of Marmont, informing him that the latter had mounted the white cockade in his corps. Jourdan thought he could not do otherwise than follow Marmont's example, and he announced to the provisional government, that in consequence of the resolution of the Duke of Ragusa, he had just ordered his corps to wear the white cockade. Marmont could now be boldly faced, and when he complained to the provisional government of the non-insertion of the article in the *Moniteur*, the reply was, "It cannot now appear. You see Marshal Jourdan has mounted the white cockade: you would not give the army two sets of colours!"

Marmont could make no answer to so positive a fact. It was not till some time after that I learned Jourdan had determined to unfurl the white only, on the positive assurance that Marmont had already done so. Thus we lost the colours which had been worn by Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII., and under the auspices of which the Count d'Artois showed himself on his return to the Parisians, for he entered the capital in the uniform of the national guard. The fraud played off by some members of the provisional government was attended by fatal consequences; many evils might have been spared to France had Marmont's opinion been adopted.

At the period of the dissolution of the empire, there might be said to be three governments in France, viz., the provisional government in Paris, Napoleon at Fontainebleau, and the doubtful and ambulatory regency of Maria Louisa.* Doubtful and ambulatory the regency might well be called; for there was so little decision as to the course to be adopted by the empress, that it was at first proposed to conduct her to Orleans, then to Tours, and she went finally to Blois. The uncertainty which prevailed respecting the destiny of Maria Louisa is proved by a document which I have in my possession, and of which there cannot be many copies in existence. It is a circular addressed to the prefects by M. de Montalivet, the minister of the interior, who accompanied the empress. In it a blank is left for the seat of the government, to which the prefects are desired to send their communications. In the copy I possess, the blank is filled up with the word Blois in manuscript.

As soon as Maria Louisa was made acquainted with the events of Paris, she sent for the Duke de Cadore, and gave him a letter addressed to the Emperor of Austria, saying, "Take this to my father, who must be at Dijon. I rely on you for defending the interests of France, those of the emperor, and, above all, those of my son." Certainly, Maria Louisa's confidence could not be better placed, and those great interests would have been defended

* For some curious accounts of the proceedings of this regency, we refer the reader to the notes at the end of the present chapter.—*Editor*.

by the Duke de Cadore, *si defendi possent*. But nothing could alter the decrees of fate.

After the departure of the Duke de Cadore, Maria Louisa published the following proclamation, addressed to the French people :

The events of the war have placed the capital in the power of foreigners. The emperor has marched to defend it at the head of his armies, so often victorious. They are face to face with the enemy before the walls of Paris. From the residence which I have chosen, and from the ministers of the emperor, will emanate the only orders which you can acknowledge. Every town in the power of foreigners ceases to be free, and every order which may proceed from them is the language of the enemy, or that which it suits his hostile views to propagate. You will be faithful to your oaths. You will listen to the voice of a princess who *was* consigned to your good faith, and whose highest pride consists in being a French woman, and in being united to the destiny of the sovereign whom you have freely chosen. My son was less sure of your affections in the time of our prosperity ; his rights and his person are under your safeguard.

MARIA LOUISA.

Blois, April 3, 1814.

It is to be inferred that the regency had, within three days, adopted the resolution of not quitting Blois ; for the above document presents no blanks, nor words filled up in writing. The empress's proclamation, though a powerful appeal to the feelings of the French people, produced no effect. It was countersigned by Montalivet. I must show why, in the copy of the proclamation which I have subjoined, there is a word distinguished by italics. I was credibly informed, that when the document was printed, and presented to the empress, she drew her pen through the word *was*, and made the sentence read as follows : " You will listen to the voice of a princess who *has consigned herself* to your good faith," &c. The unfortunate princess did all she could to rally to her cause, and, above all, to the cause of her son, those whose resolutions were still wavering ; and the truth is, that personally, Maria Louisa inspired real interest, even in those who, from policy or regard for France, were most actively labouring to overthrow the imperial despotism. Maria Louisa's proclamation was dated the 4th of April, on the evening of which day Napoleon signed the conditional abdication, with the fate of which the reader has already been made acquainted. M. de Montalivet transmitted the empress's proclamation, accompanied by another circular, to the prefects, of whom very few received it.

M. de Champagny having left Blois with the letter he had received from the empress, proceeded to the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, carefully avoiding those roads which were occupied by Cossack troops. He arrived, not without consider-

able difficulty, at Chanseaux, where Francis II. was expected. When the emperor arrived, the Duke de Cadore was announced, and immediately introduced to his majesty. The duke remained some hours with Francis II., without being able to obtain from him any thing but fair protestations. The emperor always took refuge behind the promise he had given to his allies to approve whatever measures they might adopt. The duke was not to leave the emperor's head-quarters that evening; and, in the hope that his majesty might yet reflect on the critical situation of his daughter, he asked permission to take leave next morning. He accordingly presented himself to the emperor's levee, when he renewed his efforts in support of the claims of Maria Louisa: "I have a great affection for my daughter, and also for my son-in-law," said the emperor. "I bear them both in my heart, and would shed my blood for them."—"Ah! sire," exclaimed M. de Champagny, "such a sacrifice is not necessary."—"Yes, duke, I say again I would shed my blood, I would resign my life for them; but I have given my allies a promise not to treat without them, and to approve all that they may do. Besides," added the emperor, "my minister, M. Metternich, has gone to their head-quarters, and I will ratify whatever he may sign."

When the Duke de Cadore related to me the particulars of his mission, in which zeal could not work an impossibility, I remarked that he regarded, as a circumstance fatal to Napoleon, the absence of M. Metternich, and the presence of M. Stadion, at the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria. Though, in all probability, nothing could have arrested the course of events, yet it is certain that the personal sentiments of the two Austrian ministers towards Napoleon were widely different. I am not going too far when I affirm that, policy apart, M. Metternich was much attached to Napoleon.* In support of this assertion, I may quote a fact of which I can guarantee the authenticity. When M. Metternich was complimented on the occasion of Maria Louisa's marriage, he replied, "To have contributed to a measure, which has received the approbation of eighty millions of men, is indeed a just subject of congratulation." Such a remark openly made by the intelligent minister of the cabinet of Vienna, was well calculated to gratify the ears of Napoleon, from whom, however, M. Metternich, in his personal relations, did not conceal the truth. I recollect a reply which was made by M. Metternich at Dresden, after a little hesitation: "As to you," said the emperor, "you will not go to war with me. It is impossible that you can declare yourselves against me. That can never be."—"Sire, we are not now quite allies, and sometime hence we may become enemies." This hint was the last which Napoleon received from Metternich, and Napoleon must

* We very much doubt this attachment. The preceding year, at the congress of Prague, Bonaparte had very grossly insulted Metternich. See appendix to this volume.—*Editor.*

have been blind indeed not to have profited by it. As to M. Stadion, he entertained a profound dislike of the emperor. That minister knew, and could not forget, that his preceding exclusion from the cabinet of Vienna had been due to the all-powerful influence of Napoleon.

Whether or not the absence of M. Metternich influenced the resolution of Francis II., it is certain that that monarch yielded nothing to the urgent solicitations of a minister who conscientiously fulfilled the delicate mission consigned to him. M. de Champagny rejoined the empress at Orleans, whither she had repaired on leaving Blois. He found Maria Louisa almost deserted: all the grand dignitaries of the empire having successively returned to Paris, after sending in their submissions to the provisional government.

I had scarcely entered upon the exercise of my functions as postmaster-general, when, on the morning of the 2d of April, I was surprised to see a Prussian general-officer enter my cabinet. I immediately recognised him to be General Blucher. He had commanded the Prussian army in the battle which took place at the gates of Paris. "Sir," said he, "I consider it one of my first duties, on entering Paris, to thank you for the attention I received from you in Hamburg. I am sorry that I was not sooner aware of your being in Paris. I assure you, that had I been sooner informed of this circumstance, the capitulation should have been made without a blow being struck. How much blood might then have been spared!"—"General," said I, "on what do you ground this assurance?"—"If I had known that you were in Paris, I would have given you a letter to the King of Prussia. That monarch, who knows the resources and intentions of the allies, would, I am sure, have authorized you to decide a suspension of arms before the neighbourhood of Paris became the theatre of the war."—"But," resumed I, "in spite of the good intentions of the allies, it would have been very difficult to prevent resistance. French pride, irritated as it was by reverses, would have opposed insurmountable obstacles to such a measure."—"But, good heavens! you would have seen that resistance could be of no avail against such immense masses."—"You are right, general; but French honour would have been defended to the last."—"I am fully aware of that; but surely you have earned glory enough!"—"Yet our French susceptibility would have made us look upon that glory as tarnished, if Paris had been occupied without defence. . . . But, under present circumstances, I am well pleased that you were satisfied with my conduct in Hamburg; for it induces me to hope, that you will observe the same moderation in Paris that I exercised there. The days are past when it could be said, Woe to the conquered."—"You are right; yet," added he, smiling, "you know we are called the northern barbarians."—"Then,

general," returned I, "you have a fair opportunity of showing that that designation is a libel."

Some days after Blucher's visit, I had the honour of being admitted to a private audience of the King of Prussia. Clarke and Berthier were also received in this audience, which took place at the Hotel d'Eugène, where the King of Prussia resided in Paris. We waited for some minutes in the saloon, and when Frederick William entered from his cabinet, I remarked on his countenance an air of embarrassment and austerity, which convinced me that he had been studying his part, as great personages are in the habit of doing on similar occasions. The king, on entering the saloon, first noticed Berthier, whom he addressed with much kindness, bestowing praises on the French troops, and complimenting the marshal on his conduct during the war in Germany. Berthier returned thanks for these well-merited praises; for though he was not remarkable for strength of understanding, or energy of mind, yet he was not a bad man, and I have known many proofs of his good conduct in conquered countries.

After saluting Berthier, the King of Prussia turned towards Clarke, and his countenance immediately assumed an expression of dissatisfaction. He had evidently not forgotten Clarke's conduct in Berlin. He reminded him that he had rendered the continental system more odious than it was in itself, and that he had shown no moderation in the execution of his orders. "In fine," said his majesty, "if I have any advice to give you, it is that you never again return to Prussia." The king pronounced these words in so loud and decided a tone, that Clarke was perfectly confounded. He uttered some unintelligible observations, which, however, Frederick William did not notice; for suddenly turning towards me, he said, with an air of affability, "Ah! M. Bourienne, I am glad to see you, and I take this opportunity of repeating what I wrote to you from Königsberg. You always extended protection to the Germans, and did all you could to alleviate their condition. I learned, with great satisfaction, what you did for the Prussians, whom the fate of war drove into Hamburg; and I feel pleasure in telling you, in the presence of these gentlemen, that if all the French agents had acted as you did, we should not, probably, be here." I expressed by a profound bow how much I was gratified by this complimentary address, and the monarch, after saluting us, retired.

About the middle of April, Bernadotte arrived in Paris. His situation had become equivocal, since circumstances had banished the hopes he might have conceived in his interview with the Emperor Alexander, at Abo. Besides, he had been represented in some official pamphlets as a traitor to France, and among certain worshippers of our insulated glory, there prevailed a

feeling of irritation, which the inconstancy of fortune might, perhaps, excuse, and which was unjustly directed towards Bernadotte.

While Bernadotte was in Paris I saw him every day. He but faintly disguised from me the hope he had entertained of ruling France; and in the numerous conversations to which our respective occupations led, I ascertained, though Bernadotte did not formally tell me so, that he once had strong expectations of succeeding Napoleon.

I asked Bernadotte what he thought of the projects which were attributed to Moreau; whether it was true that he had in him a competitor; and whether Moreau had aspired to the dangerous honour of governing France. "Those reports," replied the Prince Royal of Sweden, "are devoid of foundation: at least I can assure you, that in the conversations I have had with the Emperor Alexander, that sovereign never said any thing which could warrant such a supposition. I know that the Emperor of Russia wished to avail himself of the military talents of Moreau in the great struggle that had commenced, and to enable the exiled general to return to his country, in the hope that should the war prove fortunate, he would enjoy the honours and privileges due to his past services."

Bernadotte expressed to me astonishment at the recal of the Bourbons; and assured me that he had not expected the French people would so readily have consented to the restoration. I confess I was surprised that Bernadotte, with the intelligence I knew him to possess, should imagine that the will of subjects has any influence in changes of government.

During his stay in Paris, Bernadotte evinced for me the same sentiments of friendship which he had shown me at Hamburg. One day I received from him a letter, dated Paris, with which he transmitted to me one of the crosses of the Polar Star, which the King of Sweden had left at his disposal. Bernadotte was not very well satisfied with his residence in Paris, in spite of the friendship which the Emperor Alexander constantly manifested towards him. After a few days he set out for Sweden, having first taken leave of the Count d'Artois. I did not see him after his farewell visit to the count, so that I know not what was the nature of the conversation which passed between the two princes.

THE EMPRESS MARIA LOUISA AND THE REGENCY AT BLOIS.

Two very curious works that bear every mark of authenticity, and are entitled "*L'Histoire de la Régence à Blois*," and "*Itinéraire de Bonaparte, pour servir de suite à la Régence de Blois*," were published in Paris in 1814, a very few months after the events they commemorate.

The writers of these volumes lift up the veil of mystery that hung over many of the hurried transactions of March and April, and make it evident that Napoleon once thought of carrying on a civil as well as foreign war behind the Loire. The reader has seen in the text of Bourrienne how Maria Louisa and her son left Paris, and in what a hurried manner Joseph Bonaparte took his departure from that capital after instructing Marmont and Mortier to capitulate with the allies. Somewhere outside of Paris Joseph was joined by his youngest brother Jerome, and they went on together without being recognised as far as Sévres, about five miles from the capital. Here, however, the assembled population, who were in a very alarming state, recognised the ex-king of Spain, and began to talk of arresting him. Joseph escaped by assuring them roundly that Paris was saved, the allies beaten, Napoleon safe at the Tuileries, and that he was going to bring back the empress!

Having thus evaded popular fury by a wholesale lie, which was, however, excusable in the circumstances of the case, Kings Joseph and Jerome proceeded hastily to join Maria Louisa, around whom had already rallied Louis Bonaparte, old Madame Bonaparte, with several of the ministers and their suites. After some painful hesitation as to where they should take up their rest for awhile, the fugitive court fixed upon Blois, where attempts were made upon public credulity by means of sundry bulletins and proclamations that contained about as much truth in them as Joseph's speech to the mob at Sévres. When they entered Blois, which was on the 2d of April, an immense crowd collected to gaze at them; but this crowd preserved a profound silence—no one cried *Vive l'Empereur!* or *Vive l'Impératrice!*

On the 3d, the people of Blois supposed that the runaway court had received important news from the capital and the army; but not a word was allowed to transpire, and Blois, much agitated, remained in a state of anxious suspense. On the 4th this painful anxiety increased; but at last a waggoner arrived from Paris, with a passport signed SACKEN.* This was enough—this single word proved that the proud capital of France was in the possession of the allies. The waggoner reported that Paris was perfectly quiet, and in the best order

* The Russian governor of Paris.

possible. On receiving this intelligence, Joseph, Jerome, and Clarke, saying they were going to attend to some military duties, set off with headlong speed for Orleans. It was the fate of poor Joseph, who in some essentials was a very good man, to have more of running-away than commonly falls to the lot even of adventurous and unlucky men.

On arriving at Orleans, they found despatches from Napoleon at Fontainebleau, in which he thundered out his wrath at them, and particularly at Joseph for what he styled his cowardice and disobedience in running away from Paris. On the 5th, therefore, the two ex-kings and General Clarke returned to Blois, where they made a stir as if they were going to retrieve the lost affairs of the emperor. They actually prepared to raise troops and recruits to oppose the provisional government established at Paris, by the power of Maria Louisa and the regency. No one doubted that this was done in compliance with the orders from Fontainebleau they had received at Orleans, and their measures were in perfect concurrence with Napoleon's contemporaneous proceedings. On the 6th the councillor of state, M. le Comte Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély promulgated some false reports to keep up the spirits of the good people of Blois; but when the source of the good news was known, nobody believed it. On the 7th, Regnault, Cambacérès, and the rest of them with the empress, put forth the proclamation, signed Maria Louisa, which Bourrienne has given in the preceding chapter. (See p. 343.) This precious document was written in the evening of the 6th, two days after Napoleon's virtual abdication, and stuck up at Blois in the night between the 6th and 7th of April, but it bore date the 3d, one day before it. According to the historian of the evanescent regency, the antedate was a trick of the ministers who wished to keep open a chance of accommodation with the provisional government at Paris (whose orders had not reached Blois on the 3d), and at the same time give Napoleon this proof of zeal in his cause, which, in case he should be finally successful, he would be pretty sure to reward. Other well-informed writers, however, are of opinion that the trick was Napoleon's own, and contrived for very evident purposes. However this may be, the proclamation was spread wherever the communications from Blois permitted, and became, as was supposed, the cause, or one of the causes, of that fatal delay which occasioned the bloody battle of Toulouse—a battle fought *à pure perte*, after the game was up with Bonaparte—after he had signed his abdication, the news of which, if not artfully prevented, had had plenty of time to reach the head-quarters of Soult and Wellington at Toulouse.

The perplexities of Joseph, Jerome, and the ministers at Blois continuing to increase, they at last determined to consult their own safety by flying to the south, and carrying Maria Louisa and her son with them. The historian of the regency says—

"Between eight and nine in the morning of Good Friday, April the 8th, Joseph and Jerome proceeded with two carriages to the empress's lodging; they acquainted her that they were going to depart, and that they came to propose to her, for her own safety's sake, to accompany them. She asked whither, and by what order she was to go; and observed, that as to her personal safety, that was secure, whether in the hands of the French, the Russians, or the Austrians. They answered, that though they had not an express order from Napoleon, her ties to the imperial family rendered her a *voluntary** and necessary hostage for the safety of that family, and of the state; that their intention was to establish the regency southward of the Loire; and that the carriages for her and her son were at the door. To this proposition Maria Louisa answered only by her tears; when the two kings, little moved by her grief, seized her each by an arm, and were about to force her to the carriages. The empress shrieked for help, which brought some gentlemen of her household to her assistance. Addressing herself to these gentlemen, she implored them, as a last testimony of attachment, to go to the officers of her guard, and learn whether they intended to connive at the violence with which she was threatened. The officers of the guard, informed by M. d'Haussoville of the empress's situation, hastened to her assistance; but the two kings, disconcerted at the audience that had crowded about her, had already retired, ashamed of their attempt, and confused at its failure."

We have heard that this attempt to carry off the empress, for the purpose of raising the standard of civil war south of the Loire, was the device, not of Joseph and Jerome, but of Napoleon himself; and there seems every reason to believe, from the whole of his conduct at Fontainebleau, while these transactions were passing at Blois, that the scheme had been contrived by him. Well may the author say that the determination of Maria Louisa on this occasion saved France from the horrors of a civil war. The European coalition had, indeed, a narrow escape; for while the allied sovereigns were treating with Bonaparte at Fontainebleau, there was an imminent risk of a fresh explosion of hostilities in the provinces behind the Loire.

In this extraordinary state of affairs, however, the imperial regency of France and the city of Blois continued till the evening of the 9th, when a stranger alighted at the Galère inn; and it was immediately reported throughout the anxious town, that a Russian general had arrived at the inn, for the purpose of waiting on the empress.

"The Count de Schouvaloff came alone; and no one interfered either to deny or acknowledge his mission. No one yet

* For this strange use of the word "*voluntary*," the two kings are responsible: we have translated faithfully.

recognised the royal or the provisional government, nor even the authority of the allies. The proclamation of Blois was still in force, and the people who saw it still 'affiché,' did not dare to acknowledge powers which had not even announced their existence.

In the faces, however, of all the ministers (who quitted the palace soon after M. de Schouvaloff's arrival) were read at once consternation and the truth; and the inhabitants of Blois where no longer in doubt that the dynasty of Napoleon had ceased to reign! Then commenced a scene of tragi-comedy, which, perhaps, has never been equalled: their serene highnesses the grand dignitaries, and their excellencies the councillors of state and ministers, who a week since ruled the greatest empire of the world, and who, two days since, had circulated through all France their insolent commands in the proclamation of Blois, suddenly and without any apparent cause (for no troops had approached, and no proceeding of the provisional government was known at Blois) descended from the height of their arrogance, even to the depths of meanness, and courted the safeguard and protection of an individual foreigner, who had arrived in their town wholly unaccompanied, and having scarcely any other credential than an unpronounceable name.

But a new circumstance soon occurred, which crowned their highnesses and excellencies with ridicule and contempt.

On quitting Paris, it never had occurred to them to think of passports; their dignities absolved them from all dependence on, or thought of the police: but the hour was now come when, *saute qui peut*, all found it expedient to provide for their own safety, and when the avowal of their dignities were more likely to impede than facilitate their evasion.

In this perplexity they besieged M. de Schouvaloff in his inn, and with a mixture of earnestness and humility, begged him to afford them the protection of the unpronounceable name!

We do not know whether M. de Schouvaloff is a wag, but he certainly, on this occasion, hit upon one of the pleasantest expedients of quizzing their highnesses and excellencies that could be devised. He professed that he had no authority to grant passports; but if any passports regularly obtained from the mayor of the town should be presented to him, he should not hesitate, he said, to add his signature.

"The Galère was speedily evacuated; Cambacérès, Regnault, Clarke, and the rest hurried to the mayor's office to obtain passports. The mayor's clerk was astonished at the rank and number of his applicants; but the good little man collected his official wits as well as he could, and set himself to comply with the solicitations of the princes and dukes;—but here another difficulty occurred: the form of inferior passports, obtainable from a mayor, required a specification not only of the names and professions of the applicants, but a detailed personal description; this the poor clerk knew not how to ask from such illustrious

personages: but in the condescension of their fear they became so obliging as to make no difficulties on any point, a condescension which the clerk, M. de Bruère, repaid by registering their titles, and the colour of their hair and eyebrows, and the length of their noses and chins, *avec tous les égards que prescrivait la position singulière où se trouvèrent leurs excellences.*"

Furnished with these passports, they returned to the Galère in such shoals, that M. de Schouvaloff's room could not contain their numbers, nor his politeness satisfy their impatience. He however signed all the passports, marking by his graduated civility, the rank which each of those functionaries held in his esteem. To the Duke of Feltre, Clarke, he showed every attention; while on the other hand, he did not sign the passport of his excellency the Duke de Rovigo, without writing on the margin, "M. Savary."

Having thus provided for their personal safety, these worthy ministers gave themselves no further concern about Maria Louisa or the baby King of Rome—they only thought about the money-boxes which the ambulatory regency had brought from Paris. These boxes contained certain millions of francs which they now determined to divide among them, share and share alike. One of the now ex-ministers proposed, in council, that every functionary should be forthwith paid all arrears of salary and allowances, together with three months' pay in advance. Of course there was no dissentient voice to such a proposition, and they "touched the money," taking also a few Napoleons extra for their travelling expenses. The troops had but a small share in these spoils of the defunct empire; and situated as they were, we almost wonder they did not help themselves to a larger one by force. They only got three months pay, though much more was claimed as arrears. Madame Mère, Bonaparte's mother is said, to have received 375,000 francs, making about 18,000*l.* of our money. This high-spirited old lady, instead of desponding, insisted "that it was not all over yet, and that another revolution would soon avenge the wrongs of her family: *Nous autres,*" said she, "*nous nous connaissons en révolutions;*" or, "We Bonapartes understand revolutions." She already foresaw the return from Elba.

On the 10th of April, the regency and its court removed to Orleans, where in a day or two it fell to pieces and disappeared, some of its members going one way and some another, but not one of them repairing out of gratitude and respect to their fallen master who was still at Fontainebleau, and suffering agonies of affliction. Joseph and Jerome got out of France as quickly as they could. It is said that Regnault Saint-Jean-d'Angély went to Clermont in Auvergne, with a white cockade in his hat, and that he there soundly rated the mayor and the sub-prefect for their not having yet assumed the ensign of loyalty to the Bourbons. Cambacérès travelled quietly with his cook and stewpans to Paris, where the surpassing excellence of his dinners soon caused his political transgressions to be forgotten.

Maria Louisa under the protection of some gentlemen sent by her father, went from Orleans to Rambouillet, whence she shortly after proceeded to Vienna. The kind-hearted and conscientious Louis Bonaparte remained for a short time at Blois, seeking, during the celebration of the holy or Easter week, the consolations of religion. He then retired into Switzerland to find more enjoyment among mountains and lakes, than he had ever experienced in courts and palaces. And thus ended the regency of Blois—a singular chapter in the history of the nineteenth century.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

1814.

Unalterable determination of the allies with respect to Napoleon—Fontainebleau included in the limits to be occupied by the allies—Alexander's departure from Paris—Napoleon informed of the necessity of his unconditional abdication—Macdonald and Ney again sent to Paris—Alleged attempt of Napoleon to poison himself—Farewell interview between Macdonald and Napoleon—The sabre of Murad-Bey—Signature of the act of unconditional abdication—Tranquillity of Paris during the change of government—Ukase of the Emperor of Russia relative to the post-office—Religious ceremony on the Place Louis XV.—Arrival of the Count d'Artois—His entrance into Paris—Arrival of the Emperor of Austria—Singular assemblage of sovereigns in France—Visit of the Emperor of Austria to Maria Louisa—Her interview with the Emperor Alexander—Her departure for Vienna.

WHEN Marmont left Paris on the receipt of the intelligence from Essonne, Marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the Duke de Vicenza, waited upon the Emperor Alexander to learn his resolution before they should acquaint him with the movement of Marmont's troops. The Emperor Alexander had walked out at six in the morning to the residence of the King of Prussia, in the Rue de Bourbon. The two sovereigns afterwards proceeded together to M. de Talleyrand's, where they were when Napoleon's commissioners arrived. The commissioners being introduced to the two sovereigns, the Emperor Alexander, in answer to their proposition, replied, that the regency was impossible, as submissions to the provisional government were pouring in from all parts, and that if the army had formed contrary wishes, those should have been sooner made known. "Sire," observed Macdonald, "that was impossible, as none of the marshals were in Paris, and, besides, who could foresee the turn which affairs have taken. Could we imagine that an unfounded alarm would have removed from Essonne the corps of the Duke de Ragusa, who has this moment left us to bring his troops back to order?" These words produced no change in the determination of the sovereigns, who would hear of nothing but the unconditional

abdication of Napoleon. Before the marshals took leave of the Emperor Alexander, they solicited an armistice of forty-eight hours, which time they said was indispensable to negotiate the act of abdication with Napoleon. This request was granted without hesitation, and the Emperor Alexander showing Macdonald a map of the environs of Paris, courteously presented him with a pencil, saying, "Here, marshal, mark yourself the limits to be observed by the two armies."—"No, sire," replied Macdonald, "we are the conquered party, and it is for you to mark the line of demarcation." Alexander determined that the right bank of the Seine should be occupied by the allied troops, and the left bank by the French; but it was observed that this arrangement would be attended with inconvenience, as it would cut Paris in two, and it was agreed that the line should turn Paris. I have been informed, that on a map sent to the Austrian staff to acquaint Prince Schwartzberg with the limits definitively agreed on, Fontainebleau, the emperor's headquarters, was by some artful means included within the line. The Austrians acted so implicitly on this direction, that Marshal Macdonald was obliged to complain on the subject to Alexander, who removed all obstacles.

When, in discussing the question of the abdication conformably with the instructions he had received, Macdonald observed to the Emperor Alexander, that Napoleon wished for nothing for himself, "Assure him," replied Alexander, "that a provision shall be made for him worthy of the rank he has occupied. Tell him, that if he wishes to reside in my states he shall be well received, though he brought desolation there. I shall always remember the friendship which united us. He shall have the island of Elba, or *something else*. After taking leave of the Emperor Alexander on the 5th of April, Napoleon's commissioners returned to Fontainebleau to render an account of their mission. I saw Alexander that same day, and it appeared to me that his mind was relieved of a great weight by the question of the regency being brought to an end. I was informed that he intended to quit Paris in a few days, and that he had given full powers to M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, whom he appointed his commissioner to the provisional government.

On the same day, the 5th of April, Napoleon inspected his troops in the Palace-yard of Fontainebleau. He observed some coolness among his officers, and even among the private soldiers who had evinced such enthusiasm when he inspected them on the 2d of April. He was so much affected by this change of conduct that he remained but a short time on the parade, and afterwards retired to his apartments.

At near one o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt, arrived at Fontainebleau to acquaint the emperor with the issue of their mission, and the sentiments expressed by Alexander when they took leave of him,

Maria Louisa under the protection of some gentlemen sent by her father, went from Orleans to Rambouillet, whence she shortly after proceeded to Vienna. The kind-hearted and conscientious Louis Bonaparte remained for a short time at Blois, seeking, during the celebration of the holy or Easter week, the consolations of religion. He then retired into Switzerland to find more enjoyment among mountains and lakes, than he had ever experienced in courts and palaces. And thus ended the regency of Blois—a singular chapter in the history of the nineteenth century.—*Editor.*

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to-morrow."* The emperor then, as if roused from a lethargic slumber, turned to Macdonald, and merely said, "Ah, Marshal! so you are here!" Napoleon's countenance was so altered that the marshal, struck with the change, said as if it were involuntarily, "Is your Majesty indisposed?"—"Yes," answered Napoleon, "I have passed a very bad night."†

The emperor continued seated for a moment; then rising, he took the treaty, read it without making any observation, signed it, and returned it to the marshal, saying, "I am not now rich enough to reward these last services."—"Sire, interest never guided my conduct."—"I know that, and I now see how I have been deceived respecting you. I also see the designs of those who prejudiced me against you."—"Sire, I have already told you since 1809, I am devoted to you in life and death."—"I know it. But since I cannot reward you as I would wish, let a token of remembrance, inconsiderable though it be, assure you that I shall ever bear in mind the services you have rendered me." Then turning to Caulaincourt, Napoleon said, "Vicenza, ask for the sabre which was given me by Murad Bey, in Egypt, and which I wore at the battle of Mount Thabor." Constant having brought the sabre, the emperor took it from the hands of Caulaincourt and presented it to the marshal: "Here, my faithful friend," said he, "is a reward which I believe will gratify you." Macdonald on receiving the sabre said, "If ever I have a son, sire, this will be his most precious inheritance. I will never part with it as long as I live."—"Give me your hand," said the emperor, "and embrace me." At these words Napoleon and Macdonald affectionately rushed into each other's arms, and parted with tears in their eyes. Such was the last interview between Macdonald and Napoleon. I had the above particulars from the marshal himself in 1814, a few days after he returned to Paris with the treaty ratified by Napoleon.

* A translation of this treaty will be found at the end of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

† It has been alleged that on the night preceding Macdonald's return to Fontainebleau, Napoleon made an attempt to poison himself. But as I have no certain knowledge respecting this affair, I shall not, as some persons have done, hazard conjectures on the subject. The circumstance was decidedly contradicted by Napoleon in his conversation at Saint Helena. The only person who can remove the doubts which exist on the subject is Constant, who, I have been informed, never left Napoleon the whole night.

[Constant, in his "Memoirs," confirms the report of Napoleon having taken poison at Fontainebleau. He states that on the night of the 11th of April he was suddenly called up on account of the emperor's indisposition. On entering Napoleon's chamber, he perceived in the fireplace a small leathern bag tied by a black ribbon; which he knew had contained opium, and which Napoleon had worn round his neck in all his campaigns, since the commencement of the Spanish war. Caulaincourt and Yvan were immediately sent for. The dose was not sufficiently potent to produce death, and Napoleon recovered before morning.—We must confess, however, that we have still some doubts as to the authenticity of this story.—*Editor.*]

6. avril 1814.

Les puissances alliées ayant proclamé que l'empereur Napoléon était le seul obstacle au rétablissement de la paix en Europe, l'empereur, fidèle à son serment, déclare qu'il renonce pour lui et ses enfants, sous réserve de France et d'Italie, et qu'il n'est aucun sacrifice, même celui de la vie, qu'il ne soit prêt à faire pour le bien de la France.

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Copied after the original in Paris, by Pierre Landon.

After the clauses of the treaty had been guaranteed, Napoleon signed on the 11th of April, at Fontainebleau, his act of abdication, which was in the following terms: "The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France."

It was not until after Bonaparte had written and signed the above act that Marshal Macdonald sent to the provisional government his recognition, expressed in the following dignified and simple manner: "Being released from my oaths by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, I declare that I adhere to the acts of the senate and the provisional government." It is worthy of remark, that Napoleon's act of abdication was published in the *Moniteur* on the 12th of April, the very day on which the Count d'Artois made his entry into Paris, with the title of Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom, conferred on him by Louis XVIII. The 12th of April was also the day on which the imperial army fought its last battle before Toulouse, when the French troops, commanded by Soult, made Wellington purchase dearly his entrance into the south of France.

Political revolutions are generally stormy; yet, during the great change of 1814, Paris was perfectly tranquil, thanks to the excellent discipline maintained by the commanders of the allied armies; and thanks also to the services of the national guard of Paris who every night patrolled the streets. My duties as director-general of the post-office, had of course obliged me to resign my captain's epaulette.

When I first obtained my appointment I had been somewhat alarmed to hear that all the roads were covered with foreign troops, especially Cossacks, who even in time of peace are very ready to capture any horses that may fall in their way. On my application to the Emperor Alexander, his majesty immediately issued a ukase, severely prohibiting the seizure of horses, or any thing belonging to the post-office department. The ukase was printed by order of the emperor, and fixed up at all the post-offices, and it will be seen, that after the 20th of March, when I was placed in an embarrassing situation, one of the postmasters on the Lille road expressed to me his gratitude for my conduct while I was in the service.

On the 10th of April, a ceremony took place in Paris, which has been much spoken of, and which must have had a very imposing effect on those who allow themselves to be dazzled by mere spectacle. Early in the morning some regiments of the allied troops occupied the north side of the Boulevard, from the site of the old Bastille to the Place Louis XV., in the middle of which a square monument was erected. Thither the allied sove-

reigns came to witness the celebration of mass, according to the rites of the Greek church. I went to a window of the hotel of the minister of marine to see the ceremony. After I had waited from eight in the morning till near twelve, the pageant commenced by the arrival of half a dozen Greek priests, with long beards, and as richly dressed as the high priests who figure in the processions of the opera. About three-quarters of an hour after this first scene, the infantry, followed by the cavalry, entered the place, which, in a few moments was entirely covered with military. The allied sovereigns at length appeared, attended by brilliant staffs. They alighted from their horses, and advanced to the altar. What appeared to me most remarkable, was the profound silence of the vast multitude during the performance of the mass. The whole spectacle had the effect of a finely-painted panorama. For my own part, I must confess I was heartily tired of the ceremony, and was very glad when it was over. I could not admire the foreign uniforms, which were very inferior to ours. Many of them appeared fanciful, and even grotesque: and nothing can be more unsoldier-like than to see a man laced in stays till his figure resembles a wasp.* The ceremony which took place two days after, though less pompous, was much more French. In the retinue which, on the 12th of April, momentarily increased round the Count d'Artois, there were at least recollections for the old, and hopes for every one.

When, on the departure of the commissioners whom Napoleon had sent to Alexander to treat for the regency, it was finally determined that the allied sovereigns would listen to no proposition from Napoleon and his family, the provisional government thought it time to request that Monsieur would, by his presence, give a new impulse to the partisans of the Bourbons. The Abbé de Montesquiou wrote to the prince a letter, which was carried to him by Viscount Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld, one of the individuals who, in these difficult circumstances, most zealously served the cause of the Bourbons. On the afternoon of the 11th, Monsieur arrived at a country-house belonging to Madame Charles de Damas, where he passed the night. The news of his arrival spread through Paris with the rapidity of lightning, and every one wished to solemnize his entrance into the capital. The national guard formed a double line from the barrier of Bondy to Notre Dame, whither the prince was first to proceed, in observance of an old custom, which, however, had become very rare in France during the last twenty years.

M. de Talleyrand, accompanied by the members of the provisional government, several marshals and general officers, and the municipal body, headed by the prefect of the Seine, went in

* This account of the appearance of the allied troops is somewhat tinged with French prejudice. We append an English description to the present chapter.—*Editor.*

procession beyond the barrier to receive Monsieur. M. de Talleyrand, in the name of the provisional government, addressed the prince, who, in reply, made that observation which has been so often repeated, "Nothing is changed in France: there is only one Frenchman more." This remark promised much. The Count d'Artois next proceeded on horseback to the barrier Saint Martin. I mingled in the crowd to see the procession, and to observe the sentiments of the spectators. Near me stood an old knight of Saint Louis, who had resumed the insignia of the order, and who wept for joy at again seeing one of the Bourbons. The procession soon arrived, preceded by a band playing the air, "Vive Henri Quatre!" I had never before seen Monsieur, and his appearance had a most pleasing effect upon me. His open countenance bore the expression of that confidence which his presence inspired in all who saw him. His staff was very brilliant, considering it was got together without preparation. The prince wore the uniform of the national guard, with the insignia of the order of the Holy Ghost. I must candidly state, that where I saw Monsieur pass, enthusiasm was chiefly confined to his own retinue, and to persons who appeared to belong to a superior class of society. The lower order of people seemed to be animated by curiosity and astonishment, rather than any other feeling. I must add, that it was not without painful surprise I saw a squadron of Cossacks close the procession; and my surprise was the greater, when I learned from General Sacken that the Emperor Alexander had wished that on that day the *one Frenchman more* should be surrounded only by Frenchmen; and that to prove that the presence of the Bourbons was the signal of reconciliation, his majesty had ordered twenty thousand of the allied troops to quit Paris. I know not to what the presence of the Cossacks is to be attributed, but it was an awkward circumstance at the time, and one which malevolence did not fail to seize upon.

Two days only intervened between Monsieur's entrance into Paris and the arrival of the Emperor of Austria. That monarch was not popular among the Parisians. The line of conduct he had adopted was almost generally condemned; for, even among those who had most ardently wished for the dethronement of his daughter, through their aversion to the Bonaparte family, there were many who blamed the emperor of Austria's behaviour to Maria Louisa: they would have wished, that for the honour of Francis II., he had unsuccessfully opposed the downfall of the dynasty, whose alliance he considered as a safeguard in 1809. This was the opinion which the mass of the people instinctively formed; for they judged of the Emperor of Austria in his character of a father, and not in his character of a monarch; and as the rights of misfortune are always sacred in France, more interest was felt for Maria Louisa, when she was known to be

forsaken, than when she was in the height of her splendour. Francis II. had not seen his daughter since the day when she left Vienna to unite her destiny with that of the master of half of Europe; and I have already stated how he received the mission with which Maria Louisa intrusted the Duke de Cadore.

I was then too intent on what was passing in Paris and at Fontainebleau, to observe with equal interest all the circumstances connected with the fate of Maria Louisa; but I will present to the reader all the information I was able to collect respecting that princess during the period immediately preceding her departure from France. She constantly assured the persons about her that she could rely on her father. The following words, which were faithfully reported to me, were addressed by her to an officer who was at Blois during the mission of M. de Champagny: "Even though it should be the intention of the allied sovereigns to dethrone the Emperor Napoleon, my father will not suffer it. When he placed me on the throne of France, he repeated to me twenty times his determination to uphold me on it; and my father is a good man." I also know that the empress, both at Blois and at Orleans, expressed her regret at not having followed the advice of the members of the regency, who wished her to stay in Paris.

On leaving Orleans, Maria Louisa proceeded to Rambouillet; and it was not one of the least extraordinary circumstances of that eventful period to see the sovereigns of Europe, the dethroned sovereigns of France, and those who had come to resume the sceptre, all crowded together within a circle of fifteen leagues round the capital. There was a Bourbon at the Tuileries, Bonaparte at Fontainebleau, his wife and son at Rambouillet, the repudiated empress three leagues distant, and the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, in Paris.

When all her hopes had vanished, Maria Louisa left Rambouillet to return to Austria with her son. She did not obtain permission to see Napoleon before her departure, though she had frequently expressed a wish to that effect. Napoleon himself was aware of the embarrassment which might have attended such a farewell, or, otherwise, he would no doubt have made a parting interview with Maria Louisa one of the clauses of the treaty of Paris and Fontainebleau, and of his definitive act of abdication. I was informed at the time, that the reason which prevented Maria Louisa's wish from being acceded to was the fear that, by one of those sudden impulses common to women, she might have determined to unite herself to Napoleon's fallen fortune, and accompany him to Elba; but the Emperor of Austria wished to have his daughter back again.

Things had arrived at this point, and there was no possibility of retracting from any of the decisions which had been formed, when the Emperor of Austria went to see his daughter at Rambouillet. I recollect it was thought extraordinary at the time, that the Emperor Alexander should accompany him on this visit; and, indeed, the sight of the sovereign, who was regarded as the head and arbiter of the coalition, could not be agreeable to the dethroned empress. The two emperors set off from Paris shortly after each other. The Emperor of Austria arrived first at Rambouillet, where he was received with respect and affection by his daughter. Maria Louisa was happy to see him, but the many tears she shed were not all tears of joy. After the first effusion of filial affection, she complained of the situation to which she was reduced. Her father sympathized with her, but could offer her no consolation, since her misfortunes were irreparable. Alexander was expected to arrive immediately, and the Emperor of Austria, therefore, informed his daughter that the Russian monarch wished to see her. At first Maria Louisa decidedly refused to receive him, and she persisted for some time in this resolution. She said to her father, "Would he make me a prisoner before your eyes? If he enters here by force, I will retire to my chamber. There, I presume, he will not dare to follow me while you are here." But there was no time to be lost, Francis II. heard the equipage of the Emperor of Russia rolling through the courtyard of Rambouillet, and his entreaties to his daughter became more and more urgent. At length she yielded, and the Emperor of Austria went himself to meet his ally, and conduct him to the saloon where Maria Louisa remained, in deference to her father. She did not, however, carry her deference so far as to give a favourable reception to him whom she regarded as the author of all her misfortunes. She listened with considerable coldness to the offers and protestations of Alexander, and merely replied, that all she wished for was the liberty of returning to her family.* A few days after this painful interview, Maria Louisa and her son set off for Vienna.

* A few days after this visit, Alexander paid his respects to Bonaparte's other wife, Josephine. See Addenda to this chapter.—*Editor.*

The Treaty of Paris, concluded between the Allies and Napoleon, on April the 11th, 1814.

Art. 1. His majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for every member of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion in the French empire, the kingdom of Italy, or in any other country whatsoever.

Art. 2. Their majesties the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Maria Louisa preserve these titles and qualities during their lifetime; the mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the emperor, are equally, and in all places, to retain the title of princes of his family.

Art. 3. The island of Elba, adopted by the Emperor Napoleon for the place of his residence, will form, during his lifetime, a separate principality, to be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property. In addition, there will be given to the Emperor Napoleon, in full property, an annual revenue of two millions of francs,* in rents on the grand livre of France, of which one million will be reversible to the empress.

Art. 4. All the powers engage to employ their good offices in order to cause the flag and the territory of the island of Elba to be respected by the Barbary states, and to assimilate its relations with the Barbary states to those enjoyed by France.

Art. 5. The duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, will be given in full sovereignty to her majesty the Empress Maria Louisa; they will pass to her son and to his descendants in the direct line. The prince, her son, will assume, from this moment, the name of Prince of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla.

Art. 6. There will be reserved, in the countries which the Emperor Napoleon now renounces, for himself and his family, domains and estates, or rents will be given on the grand livre of France, amounting to an annual net revenue of 2,500,000 francs, without deduction of any charges or expenses whatsoever. These domains or rents will belong in full property, and to be disposed of as they think fit, to the princes and princesses of his family, and will be divided among them in such a manner that the annual revenue of each shall be in the proportion following; viz.:

- 300,000 francs to Madame Mère;
- 500,000 francs to King Joseph and his queen;
- 200,000 francs to King Louis;
- 400,000 francs to his Queen Hortense and her son;
- 500,000 francs to King Jerome and his queen;
- 300,000 francs to the Princess Eliza;
- 300,000 francs to the Princess Pauline.

* The reader will remember that Bonaparte offered the pope a pension of two millions of francs, being the precise sum he himself was thus obliged to accept!

The princes and princesses of the emperor's family will, moreover, preserve all the goods, moveable or immoveable, and of whatsoever nature they may be, that they possess as private persons, and especially the rents they enjoy on the grand livre of France, or the Mont Napoleon at Milan.

Art. 7. The annual allowance to the Empress Josephine will be reduced to one million, in domains, or in inscriptions on the grand livre of France. She will continue to enjoy, in full property, all her goods, moveable or immoveable, that belong to her as a private person.

Art. 8. To the Prince Eugène, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment will be given out of France.

Art. 9. The property which his majesty the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, whether in extraordinary domains or private estates, will remain to the French crown. Upon the funds placed by the Emperor Napoleon on the grand livre, in the bank of France, in the woods and forests, or in any other manner employed in France, and all which his majesty now surrenders to the crown, there will be reserved a capital, not exceeding two millions, to be employed in gratifications in favour of persons who shall be inscribed on a list which the Emperor Napoleon will sign, and which will be remitted to the French government.

Art. 10. All the diamonds of the crown will remain with France.

Art. 11. The Emperor Napoleon will pay into the treasury, or the other public chests, all the sums and effects that have been displaced by his orders, always excepting the civil list.

Art. 12. The household debts of his majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they may be at the time of the signing this treaty, will be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the civil list, according to the statements which shall be drawn out and signed by a commissary appointed to that effect.

Art. 13. The obligations of the Mont Napoleon of Milan towards all its creditors, whether French or foreigners, will be exactly fulfilled, without there being any change in this respect.

Art. 14. Passports will be given, and all the safeconducts necessary, for the free journey of his majesty the emperor, the empress, the princes and princesses, and all persons of their suites that may wish to accompany them, or establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects, that belong to them. The allied powers, in consequence, will give escorts of officers and men.

Art. 15. The imperial French guard will furnish a detachment of from twelve to fifteen hundred men of all arms, to serve as an escort as far as Saint Tropez, the place of embarkation.

Art. 16. There will be furnished an armed corvette, and other vessels necessary to carry the Emperor Napoleon and his retinue to Elba. The corvette is to remain as his majesty's own property.

Art. 17. His majesty the Emperor Napoleon will conduct with him, and afterwards keep with him as his guard, four hundred men, including officers and non-commissioned officers, who shall all engage voluntarily.

Art. 18. All Frenchmen who shall follow the Emperor Napoleon or

his family will be bound, unless they choose to forfeit their citizenship as Frenchmen, to return to France within the term of three years, always excepting those among them who may be comprised in employments which the French government reserves to itself the right of giving after the expiration of that term.

Art. 19. The Polish troops, of all arms, now in the service of France, will have liberty to return to their homes, preserving their arms and baggage as a testimonial of their honourable services: the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, will keep their military orders, and the pensions attached to their orders.

Art. 20. The high allied powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty. They also engage to obtain the adoption of the articles, and the guarantee of the treaty from France.

Art. 21. The present treaty shall be ratified.—*Editor.*

AN ENGLISH ACCOUNT OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES IN FRANCE IN 1814.

"It would be wrong in me, however, to overlook, without comment, the two great military reviews and manœuvres that took place in France previous to the allied troops withdrawing from their cantonments within that country; namely, those of all the Russian forces at Vertu, and subsequently of the Austrians at Dijon.

"The concentration of two such immense masses of foreign force in two very small *champs de parade*, in the midst of the French empire, will, it is hoped, remain a useful memento of the vicissitudes of war to French vanity, and a glorious record of European valour.

"It was either on the 9th or 10th of September, 1814, that I left Paris, to witness the great review of the Russian army, for which preparations had been making for nearly a month before. The number of the forces collected was so considerable, that it was not easy to bring them into a space sufficiently small for the parade movements of review; but it was at length effected; and they mustered, when we saw them, 28,000 cavalry, 132,000 infantry, and 540 pieces of cannon. This was made known from field returns, which were given to the sovereigns who were present.

"I was accompanied by my aides-de-camp, Sir Henry Brown, Colonel Harris, Captain Charles Wood; and I ought here to particularize especially the services of Mr. John Bidwell, of the foreign office, who was also with me. This gentleman had been attached to all my fortunes since the moment of my landing in the north of Germany. His constant and unremitting labour in carrying forward the various and voluminous correspondence with the foreign and war departments, I never can too highly appreciate; and it is always the most grateful task for my mind to acknowledge the merit, and to state what I feel I owe to the exertions and zeal of others. Sir Henry Hardinge also was of my party, having made his expedition en

courier to Vertu in a manner that showed his active and tried zeal in the great cause of gallantry, and his devotion to the service.

"The day was exceedingly sultry, but tolerably clear; and the spot where the head-quarters first assembled to have a sort of bird's-eye view of the whole, was a small hill in the centre of a large plain, near the village of Vertu, a short distance from Chalons. Several English ladies, together with all the princesses, duchesses, and first persons of Paris, were assembled (having been invited), and made parties to proceed from the capital to witness the magnificent spectacle. Amongst our own countrywomen, were Ladies Castlereagh, Combermere, Grantham, Mrs. Arbuthnot, Miss Fitzclarence, and others, whose names it would be tedious to enumerate, who graced this most brilliant and unparalleled sight.

"In going through the field, several of the ladies rode in company with the gallant chiefs; and English beauty was signalized by the Emperor of Russia's presenting a beautiful black charger to one of our fair countrywomen, to carry her through the ceremonies of the day; but I never rightly understood the feeling that recalled this war-horse back to the imperial stables on the following morning. A flag-staff had been placed on the top of the hill, having an ensign ready to be hoisted on the arrival of the sovereigns at the spot. We were on horseback about seven o'clock; and at eight the King of Prussia, attended by the commanders-in-chief of the allied armies, the ambassadors of nearly all the powers of Europe, and many of their prime ministers, with several of the French marshals and an immense staff of aides-de-camp, &c., began to ascend the height.

"On the arrival of the sovereigns at the spot fixed upon for them the ensign was unfurled, a salvo of guns announced their presence, and the whole Russian army then assembled was seen drawn up in three lines, extending as far as the eye could reach. The sun glittered on their arms, and on the drawn sabres of the cavalry, to a distance that appeared almost imaginary. The eye had scarcely time to comprehend so vast a spectacle, when a gun fired from the troops. Even at this distant day those hurrahs sound freshly in my ears; a second gun gave the time for a general salute. The cannon and musketry began at once, and the fire ran along the three extended lines, showing more distinctly than any thing else could have done the vast space they occupied, by the distant flashes and retiring sound of the musketry. I forget exactly how long a time was necessary for three rounds from these saluting tens of thousands.

"We rode down the hill, and the Russians broke from their lines into grand columns of regiments; no one but a soldier can conceive the beauty of this great simultaneous change. A spot was then fixed upon for these masses to march by the sovereigns; and the Emperor of Russia putting himself at the head of the leading regiments, thus formed in columns, marched past, and saluted the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia; then placing himself by their side to see the rest of the army go by. The whole of the day was only sufficient to give time for a re-formation into line, and an opening of ranks, along which the cavalcade of monarchs and their immense suite rode.

"The Emperor of Russia appeared greatly occupied with the Duke of Wellington (who was at this period our ambassador at Paris), as

if anxious for his opinion of what was passing before them; and his whole attention was given to him when not taken up with his fair companions, who rode on both his flanks. Thus closed the first day, never to be forgotten by those who witnessed the grand military display it presented. Great dinners at different bivouacs were given on the ground; and my party of ladies and friends will make me long remember the day.

"The Duke of Wellington, Sir Lowry Cole, and various military friends, met together in the evening at my quarters, full of admiration of the movements they had seen; and I well remember the Duke of Wellington saying to me, 'Well, Charles, you and I never saw such a sight before, and never shall again: the precision of the movements of those troops was more like the arrangements of a theatre than those of such an army.—I never saw any thing like it.'

"Much, however, as the duke was struck with the extraordinary perfection of the Russian formations, he was by no means satisfied with their slowness; and I remember a remark from him, that his little army would move round them in any direction whilst they were effecting a single change; an opinion which all who heard it echoed."*

DEATH OF JOSEPHINE.

In this great breaking up of empires and kingdoms, the unfortunate Josephine, who had been suffering agonies on account of the husband who had abandoned her, was not forgotten. One of the first things the Emperor of Russia did on arriving at Paris was to despatch a guard for the protection of her beautiful little palace at Malmaison. The allied sovereigns treated her with delicacy and tender consideration.

"As soon as the Emperor Alexander knew that the Empress Josephine had arrived at Malmaison, he hastened to pay her a visit. It is not possible to be more amiable than he was to her. When in the course of conversation he spoke of the occupation of Paris by the allies, and of the position of the Emperor Napoleon, it was always in perfectly measured language: he never forgot, for a single instant, that he was speaking before one who had been the wife of his vanquished enemy. On her side the empress did not conceal the tender sentiments, the lively affection she still entertained for Napoleon. * * * * Alexander had certainly something elevated and magnanimous in his character, which would not permit him to say a single word capable of insulting misfortune; the empress had only one prayer to make to him, and that was for her children."

This visit was soon followed by those of the other allied princes.

* From Lord Londonderry's Narrative.

"The King of Prussia, and the princes, his sons, came rather frequently to pay their court to Josephine; they even dined with her several times at Malmaison; but the Emperor Alexander came much more frequently. The Queen Hortense was always with her mother when she received the sovereigns, and assisted her in doing the honours of the house. The illustrious strangers exceedingly admired Malmaison, which seemed to them a charming residence. They were particularly struck with its fine gardens and conservatories." *

From this moment, however, poor Josephine's health rapidly declined, and she did not live to see Napoleon's return from Elba. She often said to her attendant, "I do not know what is the matter with me, but at times I have fits of melancholy enough to kill me." But on the very brink of the grave she retained all her amiability, all her love of dress, and the graces and resources of a drawing-room society. The immediate cause of her death was a bad cold she caught in taking a drive in the park of Malmaison on a damp, cold day. She expired on the noon of Sunday, the 26th of May, in the fifty-third year of her age. Her body was embalmed, and on the sixth day after her death, deposited in a vault in the church of Ruel, close to Malmaison. The funeral ceremonies were magnificent, but a better tribute to the memory of Josephine was to be found in the tears with which her children, her servants, the neighbouring poor, and all that knew her, followed her to the grave. In 1826 a beautiful monument was erected over her remains by Eugène Beauharnais and his wife, with this simple inscription :

TO JOSEPHINE.

EUGENE.

HORTENSE.

*Editor.** *Memoirs of Mademoiselle d'Avrillion.*

CHAPTER XXXII.

1814.

Italy and Eugène—Siege of Dantzic—Capitulation concluded but not ratified—Rapp made prisoner and sent to Kiow—Davoust's refusal to believe the intelligence from Paris—Projected assassination of one of the French princes—Departure of Davoust and General Hogendorff from Hamburg—The affair of Maubreuil—Arrival of the commissioners of the allied powers at Fontainebleau—Preference shown by Napoleon to Colonel Campbell—Bonaparte's address to General Kohler—His farewell to his troops—First day of Napoleon's journey—The imperial guard succeeded by the Cossacks—Encounter with Augereau—The first white cockades—Napoleon hanged in effigy at Orgon—His escape in the disguise of a courier—Scene in the inn of La Calade—Arrival at Aix—The Princess Pauline—Napoleon embarks for Elba.

I MUST now direct the attention of the reader to Italy, which was the cradle of Napoleon's glory, and towards which he transported himself in imagination from the palace of Fontainebleau. Eugène had succeeded in keeping up his means of defence until April; but, on the 7th of that month, being positively informed of the overwhelming reverses of France, he found himself constrained to accede to the propositions of the Marshal de Bellegarde, to treat for the evacuation of Italy; and on the 10th a convention was concluded, in which it was stipulated that the French troops, under the command of Eugène, should return within the limits of old France. The clauses of this convention were executed on the 19th of April.* In his farewell address to the French soldiers, Eugène said, "Long misfortunes have oppressed our country. France, seeking a remedy for her disasters, has taken refuge behind her old Egis. The recollection of all her sufferings is effaced by the hope of the repose necessary after so much agitation. You are now about to return to your homes, and it would have been gratifying to me

* Lord William Bentinck, and Sir Edward Pellew had taken Genoa on the 18th of April. Murat was in the field with the Austrians against the French.—*Editor.*

to accompany you thither; but I separate from you to fulfil duties which I owe to the Italian people."

Eugène, thinking that the senate of Milan was favourably disposed towards him, solicited that body to use its influence in obtaining the consent of the allied powers to his continuance at the head of the government of Italy;* but this proposition was rejected by the senate. A feeling of irritation pervaded the public mind in Italy; and the army had not proceeded three marches beyond Mantua, when an insurrection broke out in Milan. The finance minister, Prina, was assassinated, and his residence demolished: and nothing would have saved the viceroy from a similar fate, had he been in his capital. Amidst this popular excitement, and the eagerness of the Italians to be released from the dominion of the French, the friends of Eugène thought him fortunate in being able to join his father-in-law at Munich, almost incognito.† Thus, at the expiration of nine years, fell the iron crown which Napoleon had placed on his head, saying, "*Dieu me l'a donné; gare à qui la touche.*"

I will now take a glance at the affairs of Germany. Rapp was not in France at the period of the fall of the empire. He had, with extraordinary courage and skill, defended himself against a year's siege at Dantzic. At length, being reduced to the last extremity, and constrained to surrender, he opened the gates of the city, which presented nothing but heaps of ruins. Rapp had stipulated that the garrison of Dantzic should return to France, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the siege, had consented to that condition; but the Emperor of Russia having refused to ratify it, and Rapp having no means of defence, was made prisoner with his troops, and conducted to Kiow whence he afterwards returned to Paris, where I saw him.

Hamburg still held out; but, at the beginning of April, intelligence was received there of the extraordinary events which had delivered Europe from her oppressor. Davoust refused to believe this news, which at once annihilated all his hopes of power and greatness. This blindness was persisted in for some time at Hamburg. Several hawkers, who were marked out by

* The following is a curious circumstance relative to the senate of Milan. In the height of our disasters, that body sent a deputation to congratulate *Napoleon the Great* on the prospect of his triumphing over all his enemies. The deputation on its way received intelligence of the siege of Paris, and had just time to get back to Milan to be appointed to congratulate the allies on the *downfall of the tyrant*.

† Some time after, Eugène visited France, and had a long audience of Louis XVIII. He announced himself to that monarch by his father's title of Marquis de Beauharnais. The king immediately saluted him by the title of Monsieur le Maréchal, and proposed that he should reside in France with that rank. But this invitation Eugène declined, because, as a French prince under the fallen government, he had commanded the marshals; and he therefore could not submit to be the last in rank among those illustrious military chiefs.

the police as having been the circulators of Paris news, were shot. An agent of the government publicly announced his design of assassinating one of the French princes, in whose service he was said to have been as a page. He said he would go to his royal highness, and solicit to be appointed one of his aides-de-camp; and, that if the application were refused, as it probably would be, the refusal would only confirm him in his purpose.

At length, when the state of things was beyond the possibility of doubt, Davoust assembled the troops, acquainted them with the dethronement of the emperor, hoisted the white flag, and sent his adhesion to the provisional government. All then thought of their personal safety, without losing sight of their honestly-acquired wealth. Diamonds, and other objects of value and small bulk, were hastily collected and packed up. The governor of Hamburg, Count Hogendorff, who, in spite of some signal instances of opposition, had too often co-operated in severe and vexatious measures, was the first to quit the city. He was, indeed, hurried off by Davoust, because he had mounted the orange cockade, and wished to take his Dutch troops away with him. After consigning the command to General Gerard, Davoust quitted Hamburg, and arrived at Paris on the 18th of June.

I have left Napoleon at Fontainebleau. The period of his departure for Elba was near at hand: it was fixed for the 17th of April. On that day Maubreuil, a man who has become unfortunately celebrated, presented himself at the post-office, and asked to speak with me. He showed me some written orders, signed by General Sacken, the commander of the Russian troops in Paris, and by Baron Brockenhausen, chief of the staff. These orders set forth that Maubreuil was intrusted with an important mission, for the execution of which he was authorized to demand the assistance of the Russian troops; and the commanders of those men were enjoined to place at his disposal as many troops as he might apply for. Maubreuil was also the bearer of similar orders from General Dupont, the war minister, and from M. Anglès, the provisional commissary-general of the police, who directed all the other commissaries to obey the orders they might receive from Maubreuil. On seeing these documents, of the authenticity of which there was no doubt, I immediately ordered the different postmasters to provide Maubreuil promptly with any number of horses he might require. Some days after, I was informed that the object of Maubreuil's mission was to assassinate Napoleon. It may readily be imagined what was my astonishment on hearing this, after I had seen the signature of the commander of the Russian forces, and knowing, as I did, the intentions of the Emperor Alexander. The fact is, I did not, and never can believe, that such was the intention of Maubreuil.

This man has been accused of having carried off the jewels of the Queen of Westphalia.

Napoleon having consented to proceed to the island of Elba, conformably with the treaty he had ratified on the 13th, requested to be accompanied to the place of embarkation by a commissioner from each of the allied powers. Count Schouwaloff was appointed by Russia, Colonel Niel Campbell by England, General Kohler by Austria, and Count Waldburg-Truchess by Prussia. On the 16th, the four commissioners came for the first time to Fontainebleau, where the emperor, who was still attended by Generals Drouot and Bertrand, gave to each a private audience on the following day.

Though Napoleon received with coldness the commissioners whom he had himself solicited, yet that coldness was far from being manifested in an equal degree to all. He who experienced the best reception was Colonel Campbell, apparently because his person exhibited traces of wounds. Napoleon asked him in what battles he had received them, and on what occasions he had been invested with the orders he wore. He next questioned him as to the place of his birth, and Colonel Campbell having answered that he was a Scotchman, Napoleon congratulated him on being the countryman of Ossian, his favourite author, with whose poetry, however, he was only acquainted through the medium of wretched translations.* On this first audience Napoleon said to the colonel, "I have cordially hated the English. I have made war against you by every possible means, but I esteem your nation. I am convinced that there is more generosity in your government than in any other. I should like to be conveyed from Toulon to Elba by an English frigate."†

The Austrian and Russian commissioners were received coolly, but without any marked indications of displeasure. It was not so with the Prussian commissioner, to whom he said drily, "Are there any Prussians in my escort?"—"No, sire."—"Then why do you take the trouble to accompany me?"—"Sire, it is not a trouble, but an honour."—"These are mere words; you have nothing to do here."—"Sire, I could not possibly decline the honourable mission with which the king my master has intrusted me." At these words Napoleon turned his back on Count Truchess.

The commissioners expected that Napoleon would be ready to set out without delay; but they were deceived. He asked for a sight of the itinerary of his route, and wished to make some alterations in it. The commissioners were reluctant to

* The French translations of Ossian may be wretched enough, but as an Italian Bonaparte was probably well acquainted with the magnificent version of the Abate Cesarotti.—*Editor*.

† Colonel Campbell wrote to Lord Castlereagh to acquaint him with Napoleon's wish, to which his lordship acceded.

oppose his wish; for they had been instructed to treat him with all the respect and etiquette due to a sovereign. They therefore suspended the departure; and, as they could not take upon themselves to acquiesce in the changes wished for by the emperor, they applied for fresh orders. On the night of the 19th of April they received these orders, authorizing them to travel by any road the emperor might prefer. The departure was then definitively fixed for the 20th.

Accordingly, at ten on the morning of the 20th, the carriages were in readiness, and the imperial guard was drawn up in the grand court of the palace of Fontainebleau, called the Court of the White Horse. All the population of the town and the neighbouring villages thronged round the palace. Napoleon sent for General Kohler, and said to him, "I have reflected on what I ought to do, and I am determined not to depart. The allies are not faithful to their engagements with me. I can, therefore, revoke my abdication, which was only conditional. More than a thousand addresses were delivered to me last night: I am conjured to resume the reins of government. I renounced my rights to the crown only to avert the horrors of a civil war, having never had any other object in view than the glory and happiness of France. But, seeing as I now do, the dissatisfaction inspired by the measures of the new government, I can explain to my guard the reasons which induced me to revoke my abdication. It is true, that the number of the troops on which I can count will scarcely exceed thirty thousand men; but it will be easy for me to increase their numbers to a hundred and thirty thousand. Know, then, that I can also, without injuring my honour, say to my guard, that having nothing but the repose and happiness of the country at heart, I renounce all my rights, and exhort my troops to follow my example, and yield to the wish of the nation." I heard these words reported by General Kohler himself, after his return from his mission. He did not disguise the embarrassment which this unexpected address had occasioned; and I recollect having remarked at the time, that had Bonaparte, at the commencement of the campaign of Paris, renounced his rights, and returned to the rank of citizen, the immense masses of the allies must have yielded to the efforts of France. General Kohler also stated, that Napoleon complained of Maria Louisa not being allowed to accompany him; but at length, yielding to the reasons urged by those about him, he added, "Well, I prefer remaining faithful to my promise; but, if I have any new ground of complaint, I will free myself from all my engagements."

At eleven o'clock Count de Bussy, one of the emperor's aides-de-camp, was sent by the grand marshal to announce that all was ready for departure. "Am I," said Napoleon, "to regulate my actions by the grand marshal's watch? I will go when I please. Perhaps I may not go at all. Leave me."

All the forms of courtly etiquette which Napoleon loved so much were observed; and when at length he was pleased to leave his cabinet to enter the saloon, where the commissioners were waiting, the doors were thrown open as usual, and the "Emperor" was announced; but no sooner was the word uttered than he turned back again. However, he soon reappeared, rapidly crossed the gallery, and descended the staircase; and at twelve o'clock precisely he stood at the head of his guard, as if at a review in the court of the Tuileries in the brilliant days of the consulate and the empire. Then took place a really moving scene—Napoleon's farewell to his soldiers. Of this I may abstain from entering into any details,* since they are known every where, and by every body; but I may subjoin the emperor's last address to his old companions in arms, because it belongs to history. This address was pronounced in a voice as firm and sonorous as that in which Bonaparte used to harangue his troops in the days of his triumphs. It was as follows:

"Soldiers of my old guard, I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have constantly accompanied you on the road to honour and glory. In these latter times, as in the days of our prosperity, you have invariably been models of courage and fidelity. With men such as you our cause could not be lost, but the war would have been interminable; it would have been civil war, and that would have entailed deeper misfortunes on France. I have sacrificed all my interests to those of the country. I go; but you, my friends, will continue to serve France. Her happiness was my only thought. It will still be the object of my wishes. Do not regret my fate: if I have consented to survive, it is to serve your glory. I intend to write the history of the great achievements we have performed together. Adieu, my friends. Would I could press you all to my heart!" Napoleon then ordered the eagles to be brought, and having embraced them, he added, "I embrace you all in the person of your general. Adieu, soldiers! Be always gallant and good."

* The mutual attachment that existed between Napoleon and his famed imperial guard, made this parting very painful. Having assembled as many of them as he could, they were drawn out in review order. He rode up to them on horseback, and dismounting in front of their line, he took his last farewell. In doing this he betrayed great emotion; but tears, like rain, poured from the eyes of many of the soldiery who had grown grey under arms. He is reported to have said, "All Europe has armed against me. France herself has deserted me, and chosen other rulers. I might have maintained with you, my brave soldiers, a civil war for years, but that would have made France wretched. Be faithful to the new sovereign whom France has chosen. Do not lament my fate; I shall always be happy while I know you are so. I could have died—nothing was easier—but I will always follow the paths of honour. I will record with my pen the deeds we have done together. I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your general." (He pressed the general to his heart.) "Bring hither the eagle." He kissed the standard, and concluded by saying, "Dear eagle, may the kisses I give you long resound in the hearts of the brave. Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions! Surround me once more. Adieu!"—*Editor.*

Napoleon's parting words to his soldiers were, "Adieu, my friends. My wishes will always accompany you. Do not forget me." He then stepped into his carriage, accompanied by Bertrand.

During the first day, cries of "Vive l'Empereur !" resounded along the road, and Napoleon, resorting to his usual dissimulation, censured the disloyalty of the people to their legitimate sovereign, which he did with ill-disguised irony. The guard accompanied him as far as Briare. At that place Napoleon invited Colonel Campbell to breakfast with him. He conversed on the last war in Spain, and spoke in complimentary terms of the English nation and the military talents of Wellington. Yet by that time he must have heard of the battle of Toulouse.

On the night of the 21st Napoleon slept at Nevers, where he was received by the acclamations of the people, who here, as in several other towns, mingled their cries in favour of their late sovereign, with imprecations against the commissioners of the allies. He left Nevers at six, on the morning of the 22d. Napoleon was now no longer escorted by the guards, who were succeeded by a corps of Cossacks: the cries of "Vive l'Empereur !" accordingly ceased, and he had the mortification to hear in its stead, "Vivent les Alliés !" However, I have been informed, that at Lyons, through which the emperor passed on the 23d, at eleven at night, the cry of "Vive l'Empereur !" was still echoed among the groups who assembled before the post-office during the change of horses.

Augereau, who was still a republican, though he accepted the title of Duke de Castiglione from Napoleon, had always been among the discontented. On the downfall of the emperor, he was one of that considerable number of persons who turned royalists not out of love for the Bourbons, but out of hatred to Bonaparte. He held a command in the south when he heard of the forfeiture of Napoleon pronounced by the senate, and he was one of the first to send his recognition to the provisional government. Augereau, who, like all uneducated men, went to extremes in every thing, had published under his name a proclamation extravagantly violent, and even insulting to the emperor. Whether Napoleon was aware of this proclamation I cannot pretend to say, but he affected ignorance of the matter if he was informed of it; for on the 24th, having met Augereau at a little distance from Valence, he stopped his carriage, and immediately alighted. Augereau did the same, and they cordially embraced in the presence of the commissioners. It was remarked, that in saluting, Napoleon took off his hat and Augereau kept on his. "Where are you going?" said the emperor; "to court?"—"No; I am going to Lyons."—"You have behaved very badly to me." Augereau, finding that the emperor addressed him in the second person singular, adopted the same familiarity, so they conversed as they were accustomed to do when they were



THE DEPARTURE FROM FONTAINEBLEAU.

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both generals in Italy. "Of what do you complain?" said he. "Has not your insatiable ambition brought us to this? Have you not sacrificed every thing to that ambition, even the happiness of France? I care no more for the Bourbons than for you. All I care for is the country." Upon this Napoleon turned sharply away from the marshal, lifted his hat to him, and then stepped into his carriage. The commissioners, and all the persons in Napoleon's suite, were indignant at seeing Augereau stand in the road still covered, with his hands behind his back, and instead of bowing, merely making a disdainful salutation to Napoleon with his hand.

At Valence, Napoleon, for the first time, saw French soldiers with the white cockade in their caps. They belonged to Augereau's corps. At Orange the air resounded with cries of "Vive le Roi!" Here the gaiety, real or feigned, which Napoleon had hitherto evinced, began to forsake him.

Had the emperor arrived at Avignon three hours later than he did, there is no doubt that he would have been massacred. He did not change horses at Avignon, through which he passed at five in the morning, but at Saint Andiol, where he arrived at six. The emperor, who was fatigued with sitting in the carriage, alighted with Colonel Campbell and General Bertrand, and walked with them up the first hill. His valet-de-chambre, who was also walking a little distance in advance, met one of the post-office couriers, who said to him, "Those are the emperor's carriages coming this way?"—"No; they are the equipages of the allies."—"I say they are the emperor's carriages. I am an old soldier. I served in the campaign of Egypt, and I will save the life of my general."—"I tell you again they are not the emperor's carriages."—"Do not attempt to deceive me: I have just passed through Orgon, where the emperor has been hanged in effigy. The wretches erected a scaffold, and hanged a figure dressed in a French uniform, covered with blood. Perhaps I may get myself into a scrape by this confidence; but no matter. Do you profit by it." The courier then set off at full gallop. The valet-de-chambre took General Drouot apart, and told him what he had heard. Drouot communicated the circumstance to General Bertrand, who himself related it to the emperor, in the presence of the commissioners. The latter, justly indignant, held a sort of council on the highway, and it was determined that the emperor should go forward without his retinue. The valet-de-chambre was asked whether he had any clothes in the carriage. He produced a long blue cloak and a round hat. It was proposed to put a white cockade in the hat, but to this Napoleon would not consent. He went forward in the style of a courier, with Amaudru, one of the two outriders who had escorted his carriage, and brushed through Orgon. When the allied commissioners arrived there, the assembled population were uttering exclamations of "Down with the Corsican! Down

with the brigand!" The mayor of Orgon, the same man whom I had seen almost on his knees to General Bonaparte on his return from Egypt, addressed himself to Pelard, the emperor's valet-de-chambre, and said, "Do you follow that rascal?"—"No," replied Pelard, "I am attached to the commissioners of the allied powers."—"Ah! that is well! I should like to hang the villain with my own hands. Ah! if you knew, sir, how the scoundrel has deceived us! It was I who received him on his return from Egypt. We wished to take his horses out, and draw his carriage. I should like to avenge myself now for the honours I rendered him at that time."

The crowd augmented, and continued to vociferate with a degree of fury which may be imagined by those who have heard the inhabitants of the south manifest, by cries, their joy or their hatred. Some more violent than the rest, wished to force Napoleon's coachman to cry "Vive le Roi!" He courageously refused, though threatened with the stroke of a sabre; when, fortunately, the carriage being ready to start, he whipped the horses, and set off at full gallop. The commissioners would not breakfast at Orgon; they paid for what had been prepared, and took some refreshments away with them. The carriages did not overtake the emperor until they came to La Calade, where he had arrived a quarter of an hour before with Amaudru. They found him standing by the fire in the kitchen of the inn, talking with the landlady. She had asked him whether the tyrant was soon to pass that way? "Ah! sir," said she, "it is all nonsense to say we have got rid of him. I always have said, and always will say, that we shall never be sure of being done with him until he be laid at the bottom of a well, covered over with stones. I wish we had him safe in the well in our yard. You see, sir, the Directory sent him to Egypt to get rid of him; but he came back again! And he will come back again, you may be sure of that, sir, unless". . . Here the good women, having finished skimming her pot, looked up, and perceived that all the party were standing uncovered except the individual to whom she had been speaking. She was confounded; and the embarrassment she experienced at having spoken so ill of the emperor to the emperor himself, banished all her anger, and she lavished every mark of attention and respect on Napoleon and his retinue. A messenger was immediately sent to Aix to purchase ribbons for making white cockades. All the carriages were brought into the courtyard of the inn, and the gate was closed; the landlady informed Napoleon that it would not be prudent for him to venture on passing through Aix, where a population of more than twenty thousand were waiting to stone him.

Meanwhile dinner was served, and Napoleon sat down to table. He admirably disguised the agitation which he could not fail to experience, and I have been assured by some of the

individuals who were present on that remarkable occasion, that he never made himself more agreeable. His conversation, which was enriched by the resources of his memory and his imagination, charmed every one, and he remarked, with an air of indifference which was, perhaps, affected, "I believe the new French government has a design on my life."

The commissioners, informed of what was going on at Aix, proposed sending to the mayor an order for closing the gates, and adopting measures for securing the public tranquillity. About fifty individuals had assembled round the inn, and one among them offered to carry a letter to the mayor of Aix. The commissioners accepted his services, and in their letter informed the mayor that if the gates of the town were not closed within an hour, they would advance with two regiments of hussars, and six pieces of artillery, and would fire upon all who might oppose them. This threat had the desired effect; and the mayor returned for answer, that the gates should be closed, and that he would take upon himself the responsibility of every thing which might happen.

The danger which threatened the emperor at Aix was thus averted; but there was another to be braved. During the seven or eight hours he passed at La Calade, a considerable number of people had gathered round the inn, and manifested every disposition to proceed to some excess. Most of them had in their hands five-franc pieces, in order to recognise the emperor by his likeness on the coin. Napoleon, who had passed two nights without sleep, was in a little room adjoining the kitchen, where he had fallen into a slumber, reclining on the shoulder of his valet-de-chambre. In a moment of dejection he had said, "I now renounce the political world for ever. I shall henceforth feel no interest about any thing that may happen. At Porto-Ferrajo I may be happy—more happy than I have ever been! No!—if the crown of Europe were now offered to me, I would not accept it. I will devote myself to science. I was right never to esteem mankind! But France and the French people—what ingratitude! I am disgusted with ambition, and I wish to rule no longer!"

When the moment for departure arrived, it was proposed that he should put on the great-coat and fur cap of General Kohler, and that he should go into the carriage of the Austrian commissioner. The emperor thus disguised, left the inn of La Calade, passing between two lines of spectators. On turning the walls of Aix, Napoleon had again the mortification to hear the cries of "Down with the tyrant! Down with Nicolas!" and these vociferations resounded at the distance of a quarter of a league from the town.

Bonaparte, dispirited by these manifestations of hatred, said, in a tone of mingled grief and contempt, "These Provençals are the same furious brawlers that they used to be. They com-

mitted frightful massacres at the commencement of the revolution. Eighteen years ago I came to this part of the country with some thousand men to deliver two royalists, who were to be hanged. Their crime was, having worn the white cockade. I saved them; but it was not without difficulty that I rescued them from the hands of their assailants; and now, you see, they resume the same excesses against those who refuse to wear the white cockade." At about a league from Aix, the emperor and his retinue found horses and an escort of gendarmerie to conduct them to the castle of Luc.

The Princess Pauline was at the country residence of M. Charles, member of the legislative body, near the castle of Luc. On hearing of the misfortunes of her brother, she determined to accompany him to the isle of Elba, and she proceeded to Frejus to embark with him. At Frejus the emperor rejoined Colonel Campbell, who had quitted the convoy on the road, and had brought into the port the English frigate, the *Indomitable*, which was appointed to convey the emperor to the place of his destination. In spite of the wish he had expressed to Colonel Campbell, he manifested considerable reluctance to go on board. However, on the 28th of April, he sailed for the island of Elba, in the English frigate, in which it could not then be said that Cæsar and his fortune were embarked.

NOTES ON THE JOURNEY TO ELBA, AND NAPOLEON'S RESIDENCE THERE.

Some time after the events above recorded, Count Truchess, the Prussian commissioner, published a curious account of the journey. His book gave great offence to the Bonapartists, because it represented the great Napoleon as being susceptible of fear. "He was incapable of a sentiment so base," cry they; "look at him on the field of battle from first to last. Did he ever betray fear there?" Certainly not! but the man who can brave an honourable death in battle may, and without any shame, tremble at assassination—at the idea of being torn to pieces by an infuriated populace. Bonaparte, who had an especial dread of popular violence, had trembled at it before now when he was almost left naked and undefended to meet its attacks.

As a Prussian, Count Truchess may be supposed to have had no prejudices in favour of the fallen emperor, but as a man of honour and rank, he was certainly not likely to invent facts which could have been contradicted by General Kohler, the Austrian commissioner, by Colonel Niel Campbell, and other honourable men.

In 1816, not quite two years after the journey, we knew General Kohler at Naples, where we have heard him give precisely the same account of it, and of the conduct of Napoleon, as Count Truchess has done in print. We were again in the habit of occasionally meeting General Kohler in the South of Italy, between the years 1821 and 1825, when he died at Naples, and as the interesting subject of the journey to Elba was frequently alluded to, we had ample opportunities of making ourselves acquainted with the general's sentiments. Whatever may have been the faults of General Kohler in other respects, he certainly was not a man to calumniate a fallen enemy. We trust these few words will justify our using Count Truchess's account of the journey as authentic and official matter.

While perusing the following anecdotes, the reader must remember that Napoleon was already in the south of France; for the count agrees with Bourrienne in stating, that during the earlier stages of the journey Napoleon was treated with the respect due to misfortune.

"Whenever we appeared, we still found people who saluted their former ruler with 'Vive le Roi!' and some terms of abuse against himself; but nothing like violence was attempted. Still, however, he was constantly in alarm. He not only remained in General Kohler's *calèche*, but even begged he would allow the servant who sat before him to smoke, and asked the general himself if he could sing; in order that he might dissipate, through such familiar conduct, any suspicion in the places where we stopped, that the emperor sat with him in the carriage. As the general could not sing, Napoleon begged him to whistle; and with this singular music we made our entry into every place; whilst the emperor, fumigated with the incense of the tobacco-pipe, squeezed himself into the corner of the *calèche*, and pretended to be fast asleep."

In the latter part of his journey, the indignation of the people began to be more and more pronounced against him:

"Close to Avignon, where the relays of horses awaited us, the emperor found a crowd assembled, who with tumultuous cries saluted him with 'Vive le Roi! Vivent les Alliés! A bas Nicolas! A bas le Tyran, le Coquin, le mauvais Gueux!' and still coarser abuse. In compliance with our instructions, we did every thing in our power to lighten the evil, but could only partially effect it; and Napoleon endured with the greatest patience every term of abuse uttered against him. In Orgon, the next place where we changed horses, the conduct of the populace was most outrageous. Exactly on the spot where the horses were taken out, a gallows was erected, on which a figure, in French uniform, sprinkled with blood, was suspended. On its breast it bore a paper, with this inscription:

"Tel sera tôt ou tard le sort du tyran!"

"The rabble pressed round his carriage, and elevated themselves on both sides in order to look and cast in their abuse. The emperor pressed into a corner, looked pale and disfigured, and at length, through our assistance, he was happily brought off, and had proceeded a quarter of a league from Orgon. He changed his dress in his carriage, put on a plain blue great-coat and a round hat with a white cockade, mounted a post-horse, and rode on before as a courier.

"Having overtaken the emperor's carriage about half a league on the other side of Orgon, it shortly afterwards entered a miserable public-house, on the road-side, called *La Calade*. We followed it, and here first learnt of the disguise of Bonaparte, who in this attire had arrived here accompanied by one courier only. His suite, from the generals to the scullions, were decorated with white cockades. His valet-de-chambre, who came to meet us, begged we would conduct ourselves towards the emperor as if he were Colonel Campbell, for whom on his arrival he had given himself out. We entered, and found in a kind of chamber this former ruler of the world, buried in thought, sitting with his head supported by his hand. I did not immediately recognise him, and walked towards him. He started up as he heard somebody approaching, and pointed to his countenance bedewed with tears. Here we dined; but as the dinner had not been prepared by his own cooks, he had not courage to partake of it, for fear of being poisoned. He felt ashamed, however, at seeing us all eat both with good appetites and good consciences, and therefore helped himself from every dish, but without swallowing the least morsel: he spate every thing out upon his plate or behind his chair. A little bread and a bottle of wine taken from his carriage, and which he divided with us, constituted his whole repast. In other respects he was conversable and very friendly towards us. Whenever the landlady, who waited upon us at table, left the room, and he perceived we were alone, he repeated to us his apprehensions for his life, and assured us the French government had indisputably determined to destroy or arrest him here. A thousand plans ran through his brain how he might escape, and what arrangements ought to be made to deceive the people of Aix, who he had learnt awaited him by thousands at the post-house; and now again with all his apprehensions and indecision, he renewed his solicitations of counsel. He even begged us to look around and see if we could not any where discover a private door through which he might slip out, or if the window, whose shutters upon entering he had half closed at the bottom, was too high for him to jump out in case of need. On examination, I found the window on the outside was provided with an iron trellis-work, and threw him into evident consternation as I communicated to him the discovery. At the least noise he started up in terror and changed colour. After dinner we left him alone, and as we went in and out found him

frequently weeping. For greater precaution another disguise was now assumed. General Schuwaloff's adjutant was obliged to put on the blue great-coat and round hat in which the emperor had reached the inn, that in case of necessity he might be regarded, insulted, or even murdered for him.

"Napoleon, who now pretended to be an Austrian colonel, dressed himself in the uniform of General Kohler, with the order of Theresa, wore my camp cap, and threw over his shoulders General Schuwaloff's mantle. After the allies had thus equipped him, the carriages drove up, and we were obliged to march to them through the other rooms of the inn in a certain order, which had been previously rehearsed in our own chamber."

The account of the interview between Bonaparte and Marshal Augereau, given by Count Truchess, differs slightly from that recorded by Bourrienne.

In a small barrack near Valence, Napoleon, upon the 24th of April, met Augereau, his old companion in the campaigns of Italy, and in some degree his tutor in the art of war. The marshal had resented some of the reflections which occurred in the bulletins, censuring his operations for the protection of Lyons. When, therefore, he issued a proclamation to his army, on the recent change, he announced Napoleon as one who had brought on his own ruin, and yet dared not die. An angry interview took place, and the following words are said to have been exchanged between them: "I have thy proclamation," said Napoleon. "Thou hast betrayed me."—"Sire," replied the marshal, "it is you who have betrayed France and the army, by sacrificing both to a frantic spirit of ambition."—"Thou hast chosen thyself a new master," said Napoleon.—"I have no account to render to you on that score," replied the general. "Thou hast no courage," replied Bonaparte.—"Tis thou hast none," replied the general; and turned his back without any mark of respect, on his late master.

At a country-house called Bouillidou, he had an interview with his sister Pauline. The curiosity of the lady of the house, and two or three females, made them also find their way to his presence. They saw a gentleman in an Austrian uniform. "Whom do you wish to see, ladies?"—"The Emperor Napoleon."—"I am Napoleon."—"You jest, sir," replied the ladies. "What, I suppose you expected to see me look more mischievous? Oh, yes—confess that, since fortune is adverse to me, I must look like a rascal, a miscreant, a brigand. But do you know how all this has happened? Merely because I wished to place France above England."

At length he arrived at Frejus, the very port that received him on his return from Egypt fourteen years before. He shut himself up in a solitary apartment, which he traversed with impatient and hasty steps, sometimes pausing to watch from the window the arrival of the vessels, one of which was to transport

him from France, as it then seemed, for ever. The French frigate, the *Dryade*, and a brig called the *Inconstant*, had come from Toulon to Frejus, and lay ready to perform this duty. But, reluctant perhaps to sail under the Bourbon flag, Napoleon preferred embarking on board his Britannic Majesty's ship the *Undaunted*, commanded by Captain Usher. This vessel being placed at the disposal of the British commissioner, Sir Niel Campbell, he readily acquiesced in Napoleon's wish to take his passage in her to Elba. It was eleven at night on the 28th before he embarked, under a salute of twenty-one guns. "Adieu, Cæsar, and his fortune!" cried Schuwaloff, the Russian envoy. The Austrian and British commissioners accompanied him on his voyage; the Russian and Prussian agents returned to Paris. One of the officers of the frigate's barge that took Bonaparte on board happened to be a nephew of Sir Sydney Smith. When this was mentioned, Napoleon said, without any embarrassment, "Sydney Smith! Ah, that's the man I encountered in Egypt."

During the passage, Bonaparte seemed to recover his spirits, and conversed with great frankness and ease with Captain Usher and Sir Niel Campbell. The subject chiefly led to high-coloured statements of the schemes which he had been compelled to leave unexecuted, with severe strictures on his enemies, and much contempt for their means of opposition. The following particulars are amusing, and so far as we know, have never appeared:

He was inquisitive about the discipline of the vessel, which he commended highly, but assured Captain Usher, that had his power lasted for five years longer, he would have had three hundred sail of the line. Captain Usher naturally asked how they were to be manned. Napoleon replied, that he had resolved on a naval conscription in all the seaports and sea-coast frontier of France, which would man his fleet, which was to be exercised in the Zuyder Zee, until fit for going to the open sea. The British officer scarcely suppressed a smile as he replied, that the marine conscript would make a sorry figure in a gale of wind.

To the Austrian envoy, Napoleon's constant subject was the enlarged power of Russia, which, if she could by any means unite Poland into a healthful and integral part of her army, would, he stated, overwhelm Europe.

He made a favourable impression on all the British officers that approached him. The common men too, who had expected to meet with the impersonation of the arch-fiend in Napoleon, were greatly surprised by the exhibition of so much kindness of manner.

When Captain Usher received Napoleon on board the "*Undaunted*," as we have already said, he fired a royal salute, and manned yards. For this he was much censured by a certain political party at home, who were over niggard of all marks of respect to the fallen conqueror. But, on his retirement into

Elba, Napoleon was still a sovereign, though his territories, to be sure, were not very extensive. The allied sovereigns, in their treaty with him, had acknowledged and guaranteed to him and to his family their old dignities and titles, and in *etiquette* Captain Usher was perfectly right.

On one occasion he talked at great length about the peace of Amiens, and the other diplomatic relations he had had with England. He insisted that the English, availing themselves of their own strength and the weakness of the restored Bourbons, would pursue selfish measures, and exact a commercial treaty from Louis XVIII. exceedingly disadvantageous to France. "Now," he continued, "England has no opponent which can resist her system. She can pursue it without limits. There will be a treaty on very unequal terms, which will not afford due encouragement to the manufactures of France. The Bourbons are poor devils"—he checked himself—"I mean to say they are *grand seigneurs*, very glad to get back to their estates and draw their rents; but, if the French people see that, and become discontented, *the Bourbons will be turned off in six months!*"

He spoke disparagingly of the soldiers and of most of the generals of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; but he paid a high compliment to the energy and activity of Blücher. "That old devil," he said, "gave me most trouble—he was always ready to fight again. If I beat in the evening, there he was next morning; if I routed him in the morning, he rallied and fought again before night."

One rough old tar in Captain Usher's vessel, Joe Hinton, the boatswain, alone escaped the fascination of Napoleon's manner; and whenever he heard any of his shipmates praising Napoleon, he muttered "*Humbug*." But though Hinton thought it his bounden duty as an Englishman to hate Napoleon, he had no dislike to the little Napoleons—in gold, and a present evidently mollified his heart. Before leaving the Undaunted, the emperor gave two hundred Napoleons to be distributed among the ship's company: for this present, Hinton, in the name of the crew, had to return thanks, and he did so in these words: "Wish your honour good health, and better luck next time!"

It was on the 4th of May, 1814, that Bonaparte arrived within sight of Porto-Ferrajo, the humble capital of his miniature empire; but he did not land till the morning. At first he paid a short visit incognito, being accompanied by a sergeant's party of marines from the Undaunted. He then returned on board to breakfast, and at about two o'clock made his public entrance, the Undaunted firing a royal salute.

In every particular of his conduct he paid great attention to the maintenance of his imperial dignity. On landing, he received the keys of his good city of Porto-Ferrajo, and the *devoirs* of the governor, prefect, and other dignitaries, and he

proceeded immediately under a canopy of state to the parish church, which served as a cathedral. There he heard *Te Deum*, and it is stated that his countenance was dark and melancholy, and that he even shed tears.*

One of Bonaparte's first cares was to select a flag for the Elbese empire, and after some hesitation he fixed on "Argent, on a bend gules, three bees or," as the armorial ensign of his new dominion. It is strange that neither he nor any of those whom he consulted should have been aware that Elba had an ancient and peculiar ensign, and it is still more remarkable that this ensign should be one singularly adapted to Bonaparte's situation; being no more than "a wheel,—the emblem," says M. Bernaud, "of the vicissitudes of human life, which the Elbese had borrowed from the Egyptian mysteries."†

This is as curious a coincidence as any we ever recollect to have met, as the medals of Elba with the emblem of the wheel are well known, we cannot but suppose that Bonaparte was aware of the circumstance. Yet he is represented as having in vain made several anxious inquiries after the ancient arms of the island. During the first months of his residence there, his life was, in general, one of characteristic activity and garrulous frankness. He gave dinners, went to balls, rode all day about his island, planned fortifications, aqueducts, lazarettos, harbours and palaces; and the very second day after he landed, fitted out an expedition of a dozen soldiers to take possession of a little uninhabited island, called Pianosa, which lies a few leagues from Elba; on this occasion he said, goodhumouredly, "*Toute l'Europe dira que j'ai déjà fait une conquête.*" (All Europe will say I have already made a conquest.) The cause of the island of Pianosa's being left uninhabited, was the marauding of the Corsairs from the coast of Barbary, against whom Bonaparte considered himself fully protected by the 4th Article of the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

The greatest wealth of Elba consists in its iron mines, for which the island was celebrated in the days of the Romans. Virgil has a fine line descriptive of its inexhaustible ore. Soon after his arrival Napoleon visited the mines, in company with Colonel Niel Campbell, and being informed that they produced annually about 500,000 francs, he exclaimed, joyfully, "These, then, are my own!" One of his followers, however, reminded him that he had long since disposed of that revenue, having given it to his order of the Legion of Honour, to furnish pensions, &c. "Where was my head when I made that grant," said he, "but I have made many foolish decrees of that sort!"

Sir Walter Scott, in telling a curious fact, makes a very curious mistake. "To dignify his capital," he says, "having

* *Itinéraire de Bonaparte, &c.* Paris, 1814.

† *Voyage à l'Île d'Elbe, par A. F. de Bernaud.* Paris, 1808.

discovered that the ancient name of Porto-Ferrajo was Comopoli (the city of Como), he commanded it to be called Cosmopoli, or the city of all nations." Now the old name of Porto-Ferrajo was in reality not Comopoli, but Cosmopoli, and it obtained that name from the Florentine Cosmo de' Medici, to whose Ducal house Elba belonged, as an integral part of Tuscany. The name equally signified the city of Cosmo, or the city of all nations, and the vanity of the Medici had probably been flattered by the double meaning of the appellation. But Bonaparte certainly revived the old name, and did not add a letter to it to dignify his little capital.

The household of Napoleon, though reduced to thirty-five persons, still represented an imperial court. The forms and etiquette of the Tuileries and Saint-Cloud, were retained on a diminished scale; but the furniture and internal accommodations of the palace are represented as having been meaner by far than those of an English gentleman of ordinary rank. The body guard of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Elba consisted of about 700 infantry, and 80 cavalry, and to this handful of troops Napoleon seemed to pay almost as much attention as he had formerly given to his Grande Armée. The men were constantly exercised, particularly in throwing shot and shells—and he soon began to look out for good recruits.

He early announced that he would hold a court, and receive ladies twice a week; the first was on the 7th of May, and a great concourse assembled. Bonaparte at first paid great attention to the women, particularly those who possessed personal attractions, and asked them, in his rapid way, whether they were married? How many children they had and who their husbands were? To the last question he received one universal answer; it happened that every lady was married to a *merchant*, but when it came to be further explained, that they were merchant butchers, and merchant bakers, his imperial majesty permitted some expression of his dissatisfaction to escape him, and hastily retired. On the 4th of June there was a ball on board the British frigate, in honour of the king's birthday; the whole beauty and fashion of Elba were assembled, and dancing with great glee, when, about midnight, Bonaparte came in his barge, unexpectedly, and masked, to join the festivity. He was very affable, and visited every part of the ship, and all the amusements which had been prepared for the different classes of persons. On his birthday, the 15th of August, he ordered the mayor to give a ball, and for this purpose a temporary building, capable of holding 300 persons, was to be erected, and the whole entertainment, building and all, were to be at the expense of the inhabitants themselves. These were bad auspices, and accordingly the ball completely failed. Madame Mère, Madame Bertrand, and the two ladies of honour attended, but not above thirty of the fair islanders, and as the author of the *Itinéraire* remarks,

Le bal fut triste quoique Bonaparte n'y parut pas. (The ball was dull though Bonaparte did not appear.)

Having in an excursion reached the summit of one of the highest hills on the island, where the sea was visible all round him, he shook his head with affected solemnity, and exclaimed in a bantering tone, *Eh! il faut avouer que mon île est bien petite.* (Ah! It must be confessed my island is very small.)

On this mountain one of the party saw a little church in an almost inaccessible situation, and observed, that it was a most inconvenient site for a church, for surely no congregation could attend it. "It is on that account the more convenient to the parson," replied Bonaparte, "who may preach what stuff he pleases, without fear of contradiction."

As they descended the hill and met some peasants, with their goats, who asked for charity, Bonaparte told a story, which the present circumstances brought to his recollection, that when he was crossing the Great St. Bernard, previously to the battle of Marengo, he had met a goatherd, and entered into conversation with him. The goatherd, not knowing to whom he was speaking, lamented his own hard lot, and envied the riches of some persons who actually had cows and corn-fields. Bonaparte inquired if some fairy were to offer to gratify all his wishes, what he would ask? The poor peasant expressed, in his own opinion, some very extravagant desires; such as a dozen of cows, and a good farm-house. Bonaparte afterwards recollected the incident, and astonished the goatherd by the fulfilment of all his wishes. But all his thoughts and conversations were not as light and pleasant as these. Sometimes he would involve himself in an account of the last campaign—of his own views and hopes—of the defection of his marshals—of the capture of Paris, and finally of his abdication; on those he would talk by the hour, with great earnestness and almost fury, exhibiting in very rapid succession, traits of eloquence, of military genius, of indignation, of vanity, and of selfishness. With regard to the audience to whom he addressed these tirades, he was not very particular.

Hardly any one who approached during the fit, was excluded from the imperial confidence; and accordingly we have heard many reports of them.

The chief violence of his rage seemed to be directed against Marshal Marmont, whom, as well as Angereau, he sometimes called by names too gross for repetition, and charged roundly with treachery. Marmont's conduct, under the difficult circumstances in which he commanded the troops engaged in the defence of Paris, was a masterpiece of courage, discretion, and generosity. He fought while he could; and when he could no longer defend Paris by arms, he saved it by a most honourable capitulation; he preserved his army for the service of his country, and, when every thing else was lost, stipulated for the

safety of Bonaparte. This last stipulation, Bonaparte affected to treat with contempt and indignation; but we must not forget that after his abdication, he took especial care of his person.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1814.

Changes produced by time—Correspondence between the provisional government and Hartwell—Louis XVIII.'s reception in London—His arrival at Calais—Berthier's address to the king at Compiègne—My presentation to his majesty at Saint-Ouen—Louis XVIII.'s entry into Paris—Unexpected dismissal from my post—M. de Talleyrand's departure for the congress of Vienna—Signs of a commotion—Impossibility of seeing M. de Blacas—The Abbé Fleuriel—Unanswered letters—My letter to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna.

No power is so great as that resulting from the changes produced by time. Wise policy consists in directing that power; but to do so it is requisite to know the wants of the age. For this reason Louis XVIII. appeared, in the eyes of all sensible persons, a monarch expressly formed for the circumstances in which we stood after the fall of Napoleon.

In the winter of 1813-14, some royalist proclamations had been circulated in Paris; and as they contained the germs of those hopes which the charter, had it been executed, was calculated to realize, the police opposed their circulation, and I recollect that in order to multiply the number of copies, my family and I daily devoted some hours to transcribing them. After the definitive declaration of Alexander, a very active correspondence ensued between the provisional government and Hartwell; and Louis XVIII. was even preparing to embark for Bordeaux when he learned the events of the 31st of March. That news induced the king to alter his determination, and he soon quitted his retirement to proceed to London.* Louis XVIII. and the Prince Regent of England exchanged the orders of the Holy Ghost and the Garter, and I believe I may affirm that this was the first occasion on which any but a Catholic prince was invested with the order of the Holy Ghost.

Louis XVIII. embarked at Dover on board the Royal Sovereign, and landed at Calais on the 24th of April. I need not

* The entrance of Louis XVIII. into London was a triumphal one. The waving of white handkerchiefs, the display of white cockades, were prodigious. We never saw such an exhibition of linen, muslin, and silks—all Bourbonically white.—*Editor.*

enter into any description of the enthusiasm which his presence excited; that is generally known through the reports of the journals of the time. It is very certain that all rational persons saw with satisfaction the princes of the house of Bourbon re-ascend the throne of their ancestors, enlightened by experience and misfortune, which, as some ancient philosopher observes, are the best counsellors of kings.

I had received a letter addressed to me from London by the Duke de Duras, pointing out the route which Louis XVIII. was to pursue from Calais to Paris. The king's wishes on this subject were scrupulously fulfilled, and I recollect with pleasure the zeal with which my directions were executed by all the persons in the service of the post-office. His majesty stopped for a short time at Amiens, and then proceeded to Compiègne, where the ministers and marshals had previously arrived to present to him their homage and the assurance of their fidelity. Berthier addressed the king in the name of the marshals, and said, among other things, "that France, groaning for five-and-twenty years under the weight of the misfortunes that oppressed her, had anxiously looked forward to the happy day which she now saw dawning." Berthier might justly have said for "ten years;" but at all events, even had he spoken the truth, it was ill placed in the mouth of a man whom the emperor had constantly loaded with favours. The Emperor Alexander also went to Compiègne to meet Louis XVIII., and the two monarchs dined together.

I did not go to Compiègne because the business which I had constantly to execute did not permit me to leave Paris for so long an interval as that journey would have required; but I was at Saint-Ouen when Louis XVIII. arrived on the 2d of May. There I had to congratulate myself on being remembered by a man to whom I was fortunate enough to render some service at Hamburg. As the king entered the saloon through which he had to pass to go to the dining-room, M. Hue recognising me, said to his majesty, "There is M. de Bourrienne." The king then, stepping up to me, said, "Ah! M. de Bourrienne, I am very glad to see you. I am aware of the services you have rendered me in Hamburg and Paris, and I shall feel much pleasure in testifying my gratitude."

At Saint-Ouen, Louis XVIII. promulgated the declaration which preceded the charter, and which repeated the sentiments expressed by the king twenty years before, in the declaration of Colmar. It was also at Saint-Ouen that a project of a constitution was presented to him by the senate, in which that body, to justify *in extremis* its title of conservative, stipulated for the preservation of its revenues and endowments. On the 3d of May Louis XVIII. made his solemn entrance into Paris, the Duchess d'Angoulême being in the carriage with the king. His majesty proceeded first to Notre Dame. On arriving at

the Pont Neuf, he saw the model of the statue of Henry IV., on the pedestal of which appeared the following words: *Ludovico reduce, Henricus redivivus*, which were suggested by M. de Lally-Tollendal, and were greatly preferable to the long and prolix inscription composed for the bronze statue.

The king's entrance into Paris did not excite so much enthusiasm as the entrance of Monsieur. In the places through which I passed on the 3d of May, astonishment seemed to be the prevailing feeling among the people. The abatement of public enthusiasm was more perceptible a short time after, when Louis XVIII. restored the red corps which Louis XVI. had suppressed long before the revolution.

It was not a little extraordinary to see the direction of the government consigned to a man who neither had, nor could have any knowledge of France. From the commencement, M. de Blacas affected ministerial omnipotence. When I went on the 11th of May to the Tuileries to present, as usual, my portfolio to the king, in virtue of my privilege of transacting business with the sovereign, M. de Blacas wished to take the portfolio from me, which appeared to me the more surprising as, during the seven days I had the honour of coming in contact with Louis XVIII., his majesty had been pleased to bestow many compliments upon me. I at first refused to give up the portfolio; but M. de Blacas told me the king had ordered him to receive it; I then, of course, yielded the point. However, it was not long before I had experience of a courtier's revenge; for two days after this circumstance, that is to say, on the 13th of May, on entering my cabinet at the usual hour, I mechanically took up the *Moniteur*, which I found lying on my desk. On glancing hastily over it, what was my astonishment to find that the Count de Ferrand had been appointed director of the post-office in my stead. Such was the strange mode in which M. de Blacas made me feel the promised gratitude of the sovereign. Certainly, after my proofs of loyalty which, a year afterwards, procured for me the honour of being outlawed in quite a privileged way, I had reason to complain, and I might have said *Sic vos non vobis* as justly as Virgil, when he alluded to the unmerited favours lavished by Augustus on the Mævii and Bavii of his time.

The measures of government soon excited complaints in every quarter. The usages of the old system were gradually restored, and ridicule being mingled with more serious considerations, Paris was speedily inundated with caricatures and pamphlets.* However, tranquillity prevailed until the month of September, when M. de Talleyrand departed for the congress of Vienna. Then all was disorder at the Tuileries. Every one feeling him-

* A little political journal called the "Nain Jaune," or "Yellow Dwarf," exercised much influence at this period.—*Editor.*

self free from restraint, wished to play the statesman, and Heaven knows how many follies were committed in the absence of the schoolmaster.

Under a feeble government, there is but one step from discontent to insurrection: under an imbecile government like that of France in 1814, after the departure of M. de Talleyrand, conspiracy has free scope. During the summer of 1814 were prepared the events which reached their climax on the 20th of March, 1815. I almost fancy I am dreaming, when I look back on the miraculous incapacity of the persons who were then at the head of our government. The emigrants, who, as it has been truly said had neither learned nor forgotten any thing, came back with all the absurd pretensions of Coblenz. Their silly vanity reminded one of a character in one of Voltaire's novels, who is continually saying, "*Un homme comme moi!*" These people were so engrossed with their pretended merit, that they were blind to every thing else. They not only disregarded the wishes and the wants of France, which, in overthrowing the empire, hoped to regain liberty, but they disregarded every warning they had received. I recollect one circumstance which was well calculated to excite suspicion. Prince Eugène proposed going to the waters of Plombières to join his sister Hortense. The horses, the carriages, and one of the prince's aides-de-camp had already arrived at Plombières, and his residence was prepared; but he did not go. Eugène had, no doubt, received intimation of his sister's intrigues with some of the individuals of the late court of Napoleon, who were then at the waters; and as he had determined to reside quietly at the court of his father-in-law, without meddling with public affairs, he remained at Munich. This fact, however, passed off unnoticed.

At the end of 1814, unequivocal indications of a great catastrophe was observable. About that time a man, whom I much esteem, and with whom I have always been on terms of friendship, said to me, "You see how things are going on: they are committing fault upon fault. You must be convinced that such a state of things cannot last long. Between ourselves, I am of opinion that all will be over in the month of March: that month will repair the disgrace of last March. We shall then, once for all, be delivered from fanaticism and the emigrants. You see the intolerable spirit of hypocrisy that prevails, and you know that the influence of the priests is, of all things, the most hateful to the nation. We have gone back a long way within the last eight months. I fear you will repent of having taken too active a part in affairs at the commencement of the present year. You see we have gone a very different way from what you expected. However, as I have often told you before, you had good reason to complain; and, after all, you acted to the best of your judgment."

I did not attach much importance to this prediction of a change in the month of March. I deplored, as every one did, the inconceivable errors of Ferrand and company,* and I hoped that the government would gradually return to those principles which were calculated to conciliate the feelings of the people. A few days after, another of my friends called on me. He had exercised important functions, and his name had appeared on a proscription list. He had claims upon the government, which was by no means favourably disposed towards him. I asked him how things were going on, and he replied, "Very well; no opposition is made to my demands. I have no reason to complain." This reminded me of the man in the "*Lettres Persanes*," who admired the excellent order of the finances under Colbert, because his pension was promptly paid. I congratulated my friend on the justice which the government rendered him, as well as on the justice which he rendered to the government; and I remarked, that if the same course were adopted towards every one, all parties would speedily be conciliated. "I do not think so," said my friend. "If the government persist in its present course, it cannot possibly stand, and we shall have the emperor back again."—"That," said I, "would be a very great misfortune; and even if such were the wish of France, it would be opposed by Europe. You, who are so devotedly attached to France, cannot be indifferent to the danger that would threaten her, if the presence of Bonaparte should bring the foreigners back again. Can you endure to think of the dismemberment of our country?"—"That they would never dare to attempt. But you and I can never agree on the question of the emperor and your Bourbons. We take a totally different view of the matter. You had cause to complain of Bonaparte: but I had only reason to be satisfied with him. But tell me, what would you do if he were to return?"—"Bonaparte return!"—"Yes."—"Upon my word, the best thing I could do would be to set off as speedily as I could, and that is certainly what I should do. I am thoroughly convinced that he would never pardon me for the part I have taken in the restoration, and I candidly confess that I should not hesitate a moment to save my life by leaving France."—"Well, you are wrong; for I am convinced, that if you would range yourself among the number of his friends, you might have whatever you wished—titles, honours, riches. Of this I could give you assurance."—"All this, I must tell you, does not tempt me. I love France as dearly as you do, and I am convinced that she can never be happy under Bonaparte. If he should return, I will go and live abroad."

This is only part of a conversation which lasted a considerable

* Ferrand was so incrustated in old prejudices, that he said one day, in the presence of several persons, that the charter would have been a very good thing if it had been duly registered by the parliament of Paris.

time, and, as is often the case after a long discussion, my friend retained his opinion, and I mine. However, this second warning, this hypothesis of the return of Bonaparte, made me reflect, and I soon received another hint, which gave additional weight to the preceding ones. An individual with whom I was well acquainted, and whom I knew from his principles and connexions to be entirely devoted to the royal cause, communicated to me some extraordinary circumstances, which he said alarmed him. Among other things he said, "The day before yesterday I met Charles de Labédoyère, who, you know, is my intimate friend; I remarked that he had an air of agitation and abstraction. I invited him to come and dine with me; but he declined, alleging, as an excuse, that we should not be alone. He then asked me to go and dine with him yesterday, as he wanted to talk with me. I accepted his invitation, and we conversed a long time on political affairs and the situation of France. You know my sentiments are quite the reverse of his, so we disputed and wrangled, though we are still very good friends. But what alarms me is, that at parting Charles pressed my hand, saying, 'Adieu; to-morrow I set off for Grenoble. In a month you will hear something of Charles de Labédoyère.'"

These three successive communications appeared to me very extraordinary. The two first were made to me by persons interested in the event, and the third by one who dreaded it. They all presented a striking coincidence with the intrigues at Plombières a few months before. In the month of January I determined to mention the business to M. de Blacas, who then engrossed all credit and all power, and through whose medium alone any thing could reach the sovereign. I need scarcely add, that my intention was merely to mention to him the facts, without naming the individuals from whom I obtained them. After all, however, M. de Blacas did not receive me, and I only had the honour of speaking to his secretary, who, if the fact deserve to be recorded, was an abbé named Fleuriel. This personage, who was an extraordinary specimen of impertinence and self-conceit, would have been an admirable study for a comic poet. He had all the dignity belonging to the great secretary of a great minister, and, with an air of indifference, he told me that the count was not there; but M. de Blacas *was* there, and I knew it.

Devoted as I was to the cause of the Bourbons, I thought it my duty to write that very day to M. de Blacas, to request an interview: I received no answer. Two days after I wrote a second letter, in which I informed M. de Blacas that I had something of the greatest importance to communicate to him: this letter remained unnoticed, like the first. Unable to account for this strange treatment, I again repaired to the Pavillon de Flore, and requested the Abbé Fleuriel to explain to me, if he could, the cause of his master's silence. "Sir," said he, "I re-

ceived your two letters, and laid them before the count; I cannot tell why he has not sent you an answer; but *Monsieur le Comte* is so much engaged *Monsieur le Comte* is so overwhelmed with business, that” — “*Monsieur le Comte* may, perhaps, repent of it. Good morning, sir.”

I thus had personal experience of the truth of what I had often heard respecting M. de Blacas. That favourite, who succeeded Count d’Avaray, enjoyed the full confidence of the king, and concentrated the sovereign power in his own cabinet. The only means of transmitting any communication to Louis XVIII. was to get it addressed to M. de Blacas by one of his most intimate friends.

Convinced as I was of the danger that threatened France, and unable to break through the blockade which M. de Blacas had formed round the person of the king, I determined to write to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna, and acquaint him with the communications that had been made to me. M. de Talleyrand corresponded directly with the king, and I doubt not that my information at length reached the ears of his majesty. But when Louis XVIII. was informed of what was to happen, it was too late to avert the danger.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME III.

NAPOLÉON'S QUARREL WITH METTERNICH.

NAPOLÉON upbraided Metternich with having favoured his adversaries, by being so tardy in opening the negotiation. He intimated that the Austrian minister perhaps staid away, in order that France might be reduced to a lower state than at the opening of the campaign; while now that he had gained two battles, Austria thrust in her mediation, that he might be prevented from following up his success. In claiming to be a negotiator, Austria, he said, was neither his friend nor his impartial judge—she was his enemy. “You were about to declare yourselves,” he said, “when the victory at Lutzen rendered it prudent in the first place to collect more forces. Now you have assembled behind the skreen of the Bohemian mountains 200,000 men, under Schwarzenberg’s command. Ah, Metternich! I guess the purpose of your cabinet. You wish to profit by my embarrassments, and seize on the favourable moment to regain as much as you can of what I have taken from you. The only question with you is, whether you will make most by allowing me to ransom myself, or by going to war with me. You are uncertain on that point; and perhaps you only come here to ascertain which is your best course. Well, let us drive a bargain: how much is it you want?”

To this insulting commencement Metternich replied, that “the only advantage desired by his master, was to see that moderation and respect for the rights of nations which filled his own bosom, restored to the general councils of Europe, and such a well-balanced system introduced as should place the universal tranquillity under the guarantee of an association of independent states.”

It was easy to perceive which way this pointed, and to anticipate the conclusion. Napoleon affected to treat it as a figure of speech, which was to cloak the private views of Austria. “I speak clearly,” he said, “and come to the point. Will it suit you to accept of Illyria, and to remain neutral? Your neutrality

is all I require. I can deal with the Russians and Prussians with my own army."

"Ah, sire," replied Metternich, "it depends solely on your majesty to unite all our forces with yours. But the truth must be told. Matters are come to that extremity, that Austria cannot remain neutral—we must be with you, or against you."

After this explicit declaration, from which it was to be inferred, that Austria would not lay aside her arms, unless Bonaparte would comply with the terms which she had fixed upon as the conditions of a general pacification, and that she was determined to refuse all that might be offered as a bribe for her neutrality, the Emperor of France and the Austrian statesman retired into a cabinet, apart from the secretaries, where it is to be presumed Metternich communicated more specifically the conditions which Austria had to propose. Napoleon's voice was presently heard, exclaiming aloud, "What! not only Illyria, but half of Italy, the restoration of the Pope, and the abandoning of Poland, and the resignation of Spain, and Holland, and the Confederation of the Rhine, and Switzerland! Is this your moderation? You hawk about your alliance from the one camp to the other, where the greatest partition of territory is to be obtained, and then you talk of the independence of nations! In plain truth, you would have Italy; Sweden demands Norway; Prussia requires Saxony; England would have Holland and Belgium. You would dismember the French empire; and all these changes to be operated by Austria's mere threat of going to war. Can you pretend to win, by a single stroke of the pen, so many of the strongest fortresses in Europe, the keys of which I have gained by battles and victories? And think you that I will be so docile as to march back my soldiers, with their arms reversed, over the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, and by subscribing a treaty, which is one vast capitulation, deliver myself, like a fool, into the hands of my enemies, and trust for a doubtful permission to exist, to their generosity? Is it when my army is triumphing at the gates of Berlin and Breslau, that Austria hopes to extort such a cession from me, without striking a blow, or drawing a sword? It is an affront to expect it. And is it my father-in-law who entertains such a project? Is it he who sends you to me? In what attitude would he place me before the eyes of the French people! He is in a strange mistake if he supposes that a mutilated throne can, in France, afford shelter to his daughter and his grandson. Ah! Metternich," he concluded, "what has England given you to induce you to make war on me?"

The Austrian minister disdaining to defend himself against so coarse an accusation, only replied by a look of scorn and resentment. A profound silence followed, during which Napoleon and Metternich traversed the apartment with long steps, without looking at each other. Napoleon dropped his hat, perhaps to

give a turn to this awkward situation. But Metternich was too deeply affronted for any office of courtesy, and the emperor was obliged to lift it himself. Bonaparte then resumed the discourse, in a more temperate strain, and said he did not yet despair of peace. He insisted that the congress should be assembled, and that, even if hostilities should recommence, negotiations for peace should, nevertheless, not be discontinued; and, like a wary trader when driving a bargain, he whispered Metternich, that his offer of Illyria was not his last word.

His last word, however, had been in reality spoken, and both he and Metternich were fully acquainted with each other's views. Metternich had refused all private conditions which could be offered to detach Austria from the general cause, and Bonaparte had rejected as an insult any terms which went to lower him to a rank of equality with the other sovereigns of Europe. He would be Cæsar or nothing. It did not mend the prospect of negotiation, that he had formally insulted one of the persons most influential in the Austrian councils. The chance of peace seemed further removed than ever.

Accordingly, all the proceedings at the Congress of Prague were lingering and evasive.—See *Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon.* (Editor.)

SWEDISH TREATY.

Art. 1. His Majesty the King of Sweden engages to employ a corps of not less than thirty thousand men in a direct operation upon the continent, against the common enemies of the two high contracting parties. This army shall act in concert with the Russian troops placed under the command of his royal highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, according to stipulations to this effect already existing between the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg.

Art. 2. The said Courts having communicated to his Britannic Majesty the engagements subsisting between them, and having formally demanded his said Majesty's accession thereto, and his Majesty the King of Sweden having, by the stipulations contained in the preceding article, given a proof of the desire which animates him to contribute also on his part to the success of the common cause; his Britannic Majesty being desirous, in return, to give an immediate and unequivocal proof of his resolution to join his interests to those of Sweden and Russia, promises and engages by the present Treaty to accede to the conventions already existing between those two powers, insomuch that his Britannic Majesty will not only not oppose any obstacle to the annexation and union in perpetuity of the kingdom of Norway as an integral part to the kingdom of Sweden, but also will assist the views of his Majesty the King of Sweden to that effect, either by his good offices, or by employing, if it should be necessary, his naval co-operation in concert with the Swedish or Russian forces. It is, nevertheless, to be understood, that recourse shall not be had to

force for effecting the union of Norway to Sweden, unless his Majesty the King of Denmark shall have previously refused to join the alliance of the north, upon the conditions stipulated in the engagements subsisting between the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg; and his Majesty the King of Sweden engages that this union shall take place with every possible regard and consideration for the happiness and liberty of the people of Norway.

Art. 3. In order to give more effect to the engagements contracted by his Majesty the King of Sweden, in the first article of the present treaty, which have for object direct operations against the common enemies of the two Powers; and in order to put his Swedish Majesty in a state to begin without loss of time, and as soon as the season shall permit, the said operations, his Britannic Majesty engages to furnish to his Majesty the King of Sweden (independently of other succours which general circumstances may place at his disposal) for the service of the campaign of the present year, as well as for the equipment, the transport, and maintenance of his troops, the sum of one million sterling, payable at London monthly, to the agent who shall be authorized by his Swedish Majesty to receive the same, in such manner as not to exceed the payment of two hundred thousand pounds sterling each month, until the whole shall be paid.

Art. 4. It is agreed between the two high contracting parties that an advance, of which the amount and the time of payment shall be determined between them, and which is to be deducted from the million before stipulated, shall be made to his Majesty the King of Sweden for "*mise en campagne*," and for the first march of the troops; the remainder of the before-mentioned succours are to commence from the day of the landing of the Swedish army, as it is stipulated by the two high contracting parties in the first article of the present treaty.

Art. 5. The two high contracting parties being desirous of giving a solid and lasting guarantee to their relations, as well political as commercial, his Britannic Majesty, animated with a desire to give to his ally evident proofs of his sincere friendship, consents to cede to his Majesty the King of Sweden, and to his successors to the crown of Sweden, in the order of succession established by his said Majesty and the States-General of his kingdom, under date the 26th of September, 1810, the possession of Guadaloupe, in the West Indies, and to transfer to his Swedish Majesty all the rights of his Britannic Majesty over that island, in so far as his said Majesty actually possesses the same. This colony shall be given up to the commissioners of his Majesty the King of Sweden in the course of the month of August of the present year, or three months after the landing of the Swedish troops on the continent; the whole to take place according to the conditions agreed upon between the two high contracting parties, in the separate article annexed to the present treaty.

Art. 6. As a reciprocal consequence of what has been stipulated in the preceding article, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to grant, for the space of twenty years, to take date from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty the right of *entrepôt* in the ports of Gottenburg, Carlshamn, and Stralsund, whenever this last-mentioned place shall return under

the Swedish dominion, for all commodities, productions, or merchandise, whether of Great Britain or her colonies, laden on board British or Swedish vessels. The said commodities or merchandise, whether they be of such kind as may be introduced and subject to duty in Sweden, or whether their introduction be prohibited, shall pay without distinction, as duty of *entrepôt*, one per cent. *ad valorem* upon entry, and the same upon discharge: as to every other particular relating to this object, the general regulations existing in Sweden shall be conformed to; treating always the subjects of his Britannic Majesty upon the footing of the most favoured nations.

Art. 7. From the day of the signature of the present treaty, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, reciprocally promise not to separate their mutual interests, and particularly those of Sweden, which are referred to in the present treaty, in any negotiation whatever with their common enemies.

Art. 8. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Stockholm within four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Stockholm, the 2d of March, in the year of our Lord, 1813.

ALEX. HOPE. (L. S.)

ED. THORNTON. (L. S.)

LE COMTE D'ENGESTROM. (L. S.)

G. BARON DE WETTERSTEDT. (L. S.)

A LIST

OF THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH TITLES AND DIGNITIES CONFERRED BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

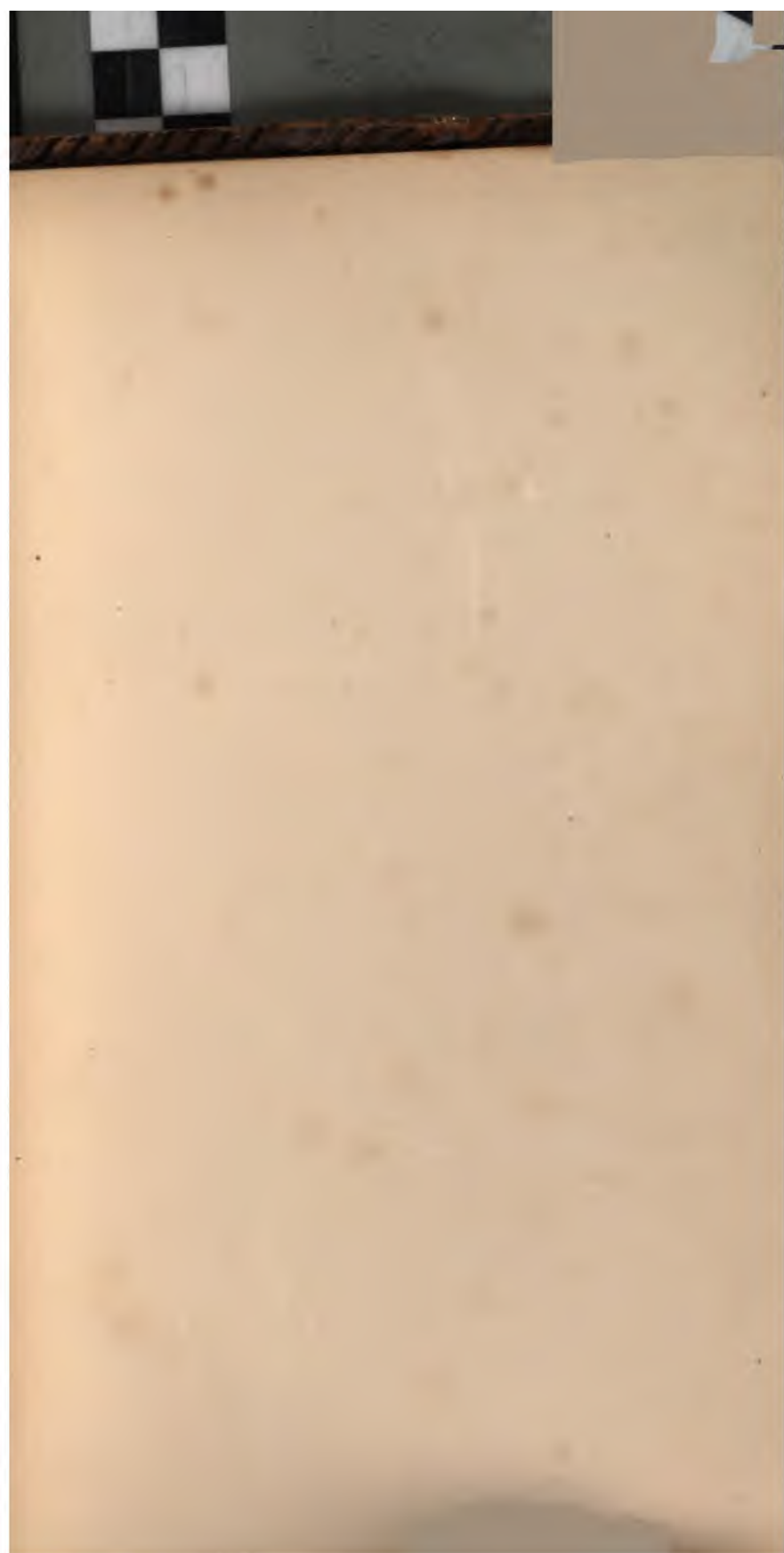
King of Holland,	Prince Louis Bonaparte
King of Naples,	Marshal Murat, Prince Joachim Napoleon
Queen of Naples,	Caroline Bonaparte
King of Spain,	Prince Joseph Napoleon
King of Westphalia,	Prince Jerome Napoleon
Viceroy of Italy,	Prince Eugène Beauharnais
Princess Borghese,	Pauline Bonaparte
Princess Baden,	Stephanie de la Pagerie
Grand Duchess of Flo- rence,	Eliza Bonaparte
Grand Duke of Berg,	Prince Charles Louis Napoleon
Grand Duke of Warsaw,	Frederick Augustus IV., King and Elector of Saxony
Archbishop of Lyons,	Cardinal Fesch
Prince of Pontecorvo,	Marshal Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Swe- den
Prince of Neufchatel,	Marshal Berthier, vice Constable of France
Prince of Benevento,	Talleyrand, vice Arch-Chancellor
Prince of Eckmühl,	Marshal Davoust
Grand Duke of Florence,	General Bacchiocchi
Duke of Abrantes,	Marshal Junot
Duke of Albufera,	Marshal Suchet
Duke of Auerstadt,	Marshal Davoust
Duke of Bassano,	Maret (Secretary of State)
Duke of Belluno,	Marshal Victor
Duke of Cadore,	Champagny (Minister of Foreign Affairs)
Duke of Castiglione,	Marshal Augereau
Duke of Cornegliano,	Marshal Moncey
Duke of Dalmatia,	Marshal Soult
Duke of Dantzic,	Marshal Lefebvre
Duke of Elchingen,	Marshal Ney
Duke of Friuli,	Marshal Duroc, Grand Master of the Palace
Duke of Montebello,	Marshal Lannes
Duke of Istria,	Marshal Bessières, Com. of the Imperial Gd.
Duke of Otranto,	Marshal Fouché
Duke of Padua,	General Arigja

Duke of Parma,	Cambacérés, Arch-Chancellor
Duke of Piacenza,	Marshal Le Brun, P. Arch-Treasurer
Duke of Ragusa,	Marshal Marmont
Duke of Reggio,	Marshal Oudinot
Duke of Rovigo,	General Savary, Minister of Police
Duke of Tarento,	Marshal Macdonald
Duke of Treviso,	Marshal Mortier
Duke of Valmy,	Marshal Kellerman
Duke of Vicenza,	General Caulaincourt, Grand Chamberlain

END OF VOL. III.

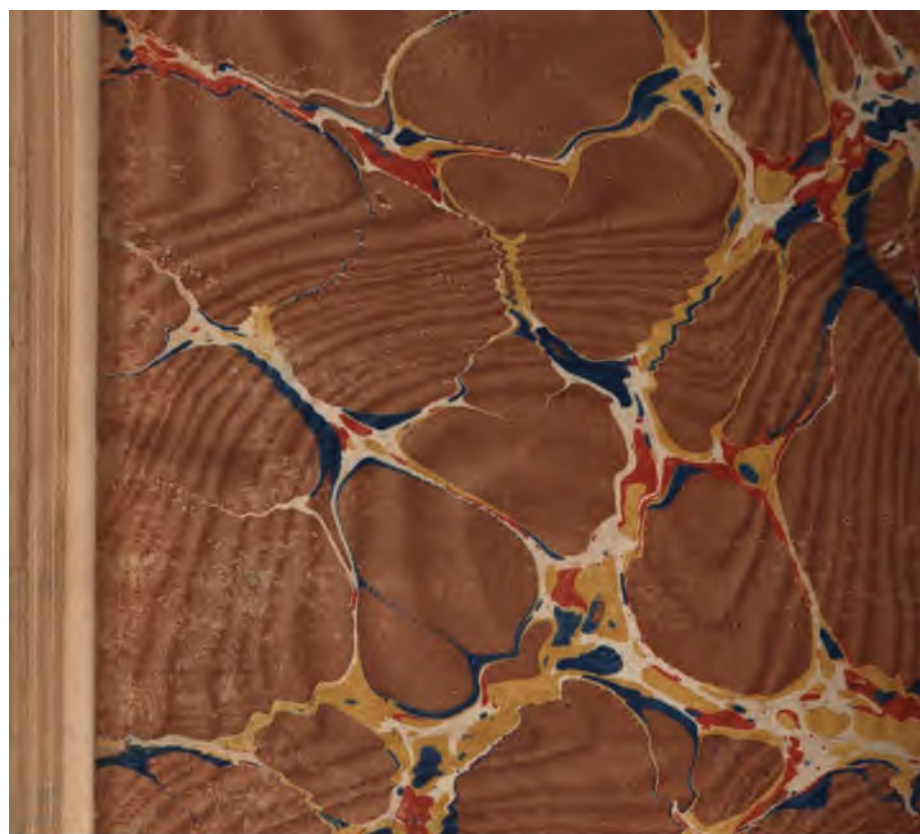












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